

The Road to Madness John Osborne

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A Journal of Politics and the Arts — May 16, 1970, 50 cents

Staying Alive Until 1973

Richard Nixon is going down in history, all right, but not soon enough. That he is no commanding genius was long suspected; but that he should come to believe in May, 1970 that the United States can blast and bomb a military victory or an Indochina peace into being, that he should prove so insensitive to his own and his party's political fortunes, so transparently phony in his explanations to the Congress and the country, so indifferent to the strength and passion of the revolt against the war — all this came as a shock, even to the long-headed. His boast that we are successfully "Vietnamizing" the war is a fraud; for it's not primarily the well-supplied South Vietnamese army which is moving through Cambodia in a will-o'-the-wisp hunt for some secret headquarters, stumbling through rainy jungles and burning whatever hamlets and hapless Asians come their way; it is 25,000 US troops. As a divisional commander in Cambodia said last week: "The people who advised President Nixon to start something like this at this time of year [the monsoon season] must be the same ones who advised him on candidates (Continued on page 7)

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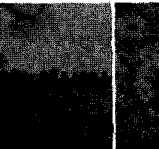
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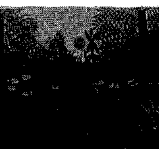
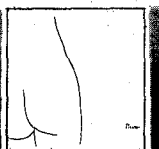
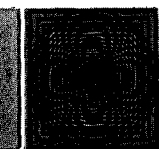
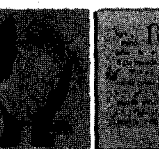
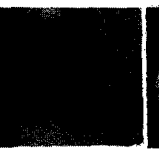
264. MONET. SUNFLOWERS. On artist canvas. Full color. 19" x 24". Only 6.95

314. OROZCO. ZAPATISTAS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 22". Only 6.95

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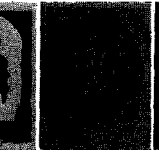
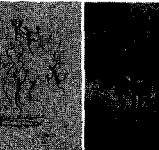
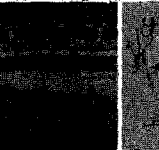
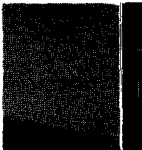
150. MUSIC MANUSCRIPT WITH ASTROLOGERS. Silkscreen on parchment paper. Full color. 20" x 30". Only 3.95

583. POW. On fine art stock. Silkscreen in full color. 22" x 28". Only 2.49

283. HUG. THE TIGER. Lithograph on canvas. Browns, tans, yellows. 22" x 28". Only 5.95
509. On paper. 2.95

306. PICASSO. FEMME. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Black and white. 16" x 20". Only 5.95

277. ROUSSEAU. VIRGIN FOREST AT SUNSET. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 26". Only 7.95



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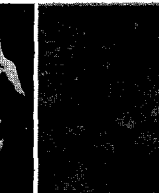
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312. PICASSO. LES PETIT FLEURS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 26". Only 5.95

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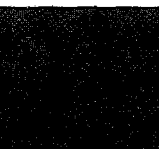
254. MONET. WATER LILIES. Silkscreen on canvas. Full color. 22" x 28". Only 6.95
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323. DEGAS. THE MASS OF ABSINTHE. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 6.95



351. HUG. THE OWLS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Browns, tans, yellows. 22" x 28". Only 3.95
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344. HUG. TIGER. Lithograph artist canvas. Red background. 22" x 28". Only 3.95
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246. EL GRECO. ST. MARTIN. Silkscreen on artist canvas. 16" x 30". Only 6.95

550. LOVE. Silkscreen poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 35". Only 1.95

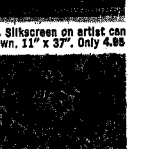
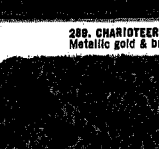
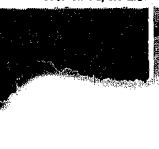
559. SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS. Poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 35". Only 1.95

560. LOVE IS. Poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 35". Only 1.95

565. WHEN THE BOMB GOES OFF. Poster on paper. Black & white. 22" x 25". Only 1.95

561. TAKE TIME. Poster on paper. Grays & white. 19" x 25". Only 1.95

228. MUSICIANS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Metallic gold & brown. 11" x 31". Only 4.95



592. FIRE. Silkscreen on paper. Black light poster. 22" x 28". Only 2.95

593. EASY RIDER. Full color. 23" x 35". Only 1.95

593. MAN ON MOON. Poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 35". Only 1.95

270. VAN GOGH. STIFFERS ROAD. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 21" x 26". Only 4.95

571. PETER MAX. Poster on paper. Full color. 24" x 36". Only 1.95

260. MAUET. THE PIPER. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Color. 15" x 25". Only 2.95

228. PARTRIDGE PANEL. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Blues, greens, yellow. 12" x 37". Only 4.95

543. TARGET. Poster in red, yellow, black and white. 40" x 40". Only 1.95

543. TARGET. Poster in red, yellow, black and white. 40" x 40". Only 1.95



339. DETLEFSEN. HAPPY DAYS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95

215. PICASSO. THE LOVERS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95

285. HUG. THE LEOPARD. Browns, tans, yellow. 22" x 28". Only 5.95

251. SEURAT. LA GRANDE JATTE. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 27". Only 5.95

302. PICASSO. FAUN WITH LEAVES. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Black & white. 18" x 24". Only 2.98

278. TURNER. THE FIGHTING TEMERAIRE. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 28". Only 7.95

513. NEVER AGAIN WAR. After KOLLWITZ. Silkscreen on paper. Black, grays, dayglo red. 23" x 30". Only 4.95

268. MONET. REGATTA AT ARGENTEUIL. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 27". Only 6.95



155. KLEE. BIRD GARDEN. Silkscreen on paper. Full color. 17" x 24". Only 2.98



532. MATISSE. BLUE NUDE. Silkscreen on paper. Blue. 16" x 23". Only 2.98



303. MODIGLIANI. CARVATTO. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Blue. 15" x 20". Only 3.95



334. MUNNICH. CITY VISTA. Lithograph on artist canvas. Color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



335. SIMON. GOLDEN CHARGER. Lithograph on artist canvas. Color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



329. REMBRANDT. GIRL WITH BROOM. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



307. PICASSO. DANCES. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Black & white. 17" x 22". Only 3.95



272. BUFFET. CLOWN. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 22" x 28". Only 5.95



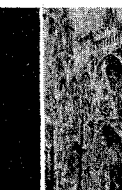
288. PICASSO. BACCHANAL. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Black & white. 18" x 24". Only 2.98



357. DETLEFSEN. SPRING BLOSSOMS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



266. REMBRANDT. MAN IN GOLDEN HELMET. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 27". Only 5.95



352. MONET. ROUEN CATHEDRAL. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 26". Only 6.95



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280. MATISSE. PAIR OF MURALS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 13" x 28" each. Pair only 6.95



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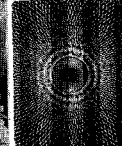
336. REMBRANDT. YOUNG GIRL AT DOOR. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



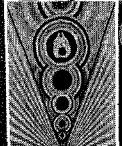
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326. CEZANNE. BLUE VASE. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



567. ENERGY. Silkscreen poster on paper. Dayglo colors. 22" x 28". Only 1.98



595. EVOLUTION. Silkscreen on paper. Black Light poster. 22" x 28". Only 2.98



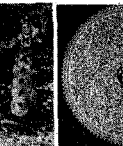
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330. VAN GOGH. DRAWBRIDGE AT ARLES. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



354. RENOIR. THE SWINE. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



777. OM MANDALA. Silkscreen poster on paper. Greens & gold. 24" x 24". Only 1.98



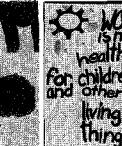
345. HUG. THE PUMA. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 5.95



582. MORATORIUM. Silkscreen poster on art stock. Blue & white. 24" x 27". Only 2.98



217. KLEE. THE LONELY ONES. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 28". Only 5.95



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356. TOMASCO. MUSTANGS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



236. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT—GREEN KNIGHT. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 15" x 21". Only 2.98



235. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT—BLUE KNIGHT. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 15" x 21". Only 2.98



552. TODAY. Poster on paper. Black & gold. 23" x 35". Only 1.98



328. RENOIR. LITTLE IRENE. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



338. RENOIR. BOATING PARTY. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 4.95



572. PETER MAX. TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. Silkscreen on paper. Full color. 24" x 36". Only 1.98



355. RENOIR. ON THE TERRACE. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 16" x 24". Only 5.95



594. CALIFORNIA. Poster on paper. Grays & white. 22" x 28". Only 1.98



597. MAKE LOVE NOT WAR. Poster on paper. Black & white. 18" x 23". Only 1.98



570. PETER MAX. TOP CAT. Poster on paper. Full color. 24" x 36". Only 1.98



236. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT—GREEN KNIGHT. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 15" x 21". Only 2.98



235. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT—BLUE KNIGHT. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 15" x 21". Only 2.98



256. VAN GOGH. CHURCH AT ADUERS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only 5.95



244. MODIGLIANI. MARIE. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Sepia. 15" x 23". Only 2.98



248. VAN GOGH. IRISSES. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 27". Only 6.95



519. KWAN YIN. Silkscreen on rice paper. Blue. 12" x 39". Only 1.98



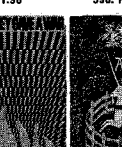
291. REMBRANDT. YOUNG WARRIOR. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 19" x 27". Only 5.95



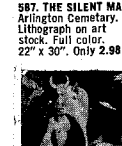
599. NESBITT. LUNAR RAPE—69. Silkscreen on paper. Gold, silver, black. 25" x 30". Only 4.95



527. DUREN. KNIGHT, DEATH & THE DEVIL. Silkscreen on paper. Sepia. 21" x 27". Only 2.98



198. SUPPOSE THEY GAVE A WAR. Silkscreen on paper. Dayglo red & black. 25" x 38". Only 4.95



587. THE SILENT MAJORITY. Lithograph on art stock. Full color. 22" x 30". Only 2.98



556. CAT. Silkscreen on paper. Dayglo colors. 20" x 30". Only 1.98



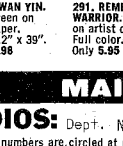
244. MODIGLIANI. MARIE. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Sepia. 15" x 23". Only 2.98



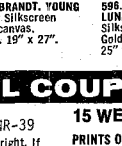
248. VAN GOGH. IRISSES. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 27". Only 6.95



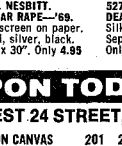
519. KWAN YIN. Silkscreen on rice paper. Blue. 12" x 39". Only 1.98



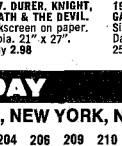
291. REMBRANDT. YOUNG WARRIOR. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 19" x 27". Only 5.95



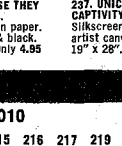
599. NESBITT. LUNAR RAPE—69. Silkscreen on paper. Gold, silver, black. 25" x 30". Only 4.95



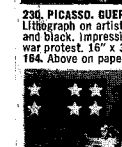
527. DUREN. KNIGHT, DEATH & THE DEVIL. Silkscreen on paper. Sepia. 21" x 27". Only 2.98



198. SUPPOSE THEY GAVE A WAR. Silkscreen on paper. Dayglo red & black. 25" x 38". Only 4.95



237. UNICORN IN CAPTIVITY. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 19" x 28". Only 5.95



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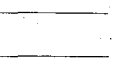
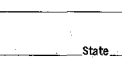
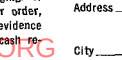
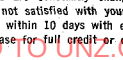
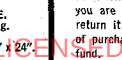
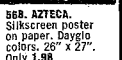
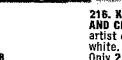
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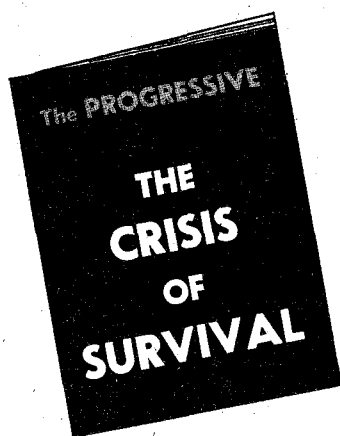
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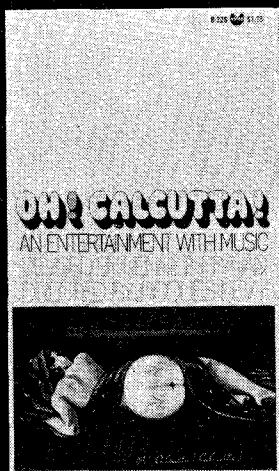
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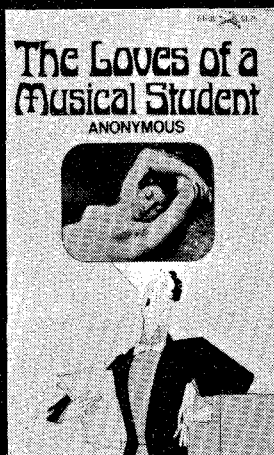
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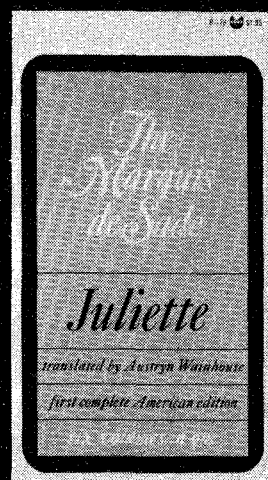
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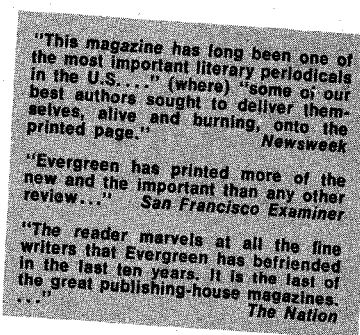
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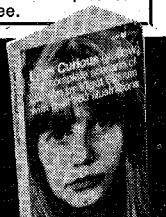
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It's a big room paneled in pine with cork floors and hardly anybody in it. The TV camera lights are on but the crew is reading newspapers. The witness is Dr. Arnold Schaefer, head of the government's National Nutrition Survey that Congress ordered two and a half years ago. A couple of experts sit beside him, one of them seemingly intent on keeping him from saying anything dramatic about hunger. Last year Dr. Schaefer spoke his mind and probably cost the government several million dollars in extra food grants. He is short, sober, middle-aged, prosaic and obviously watching his step. This year he sticks to graphs, tables and a dull text.

Normally a dozen senators sit behind that semicircular dais up front that looks down on the witness, but this time there is just one man there, George McGovern of South Dakota. He is all alone.

All the drama has gone out of it. The country was shocked and incredulous when McGovern and others went out a couple of years ago and showed there is hunger, malnutrition and even starvation in affluent America. But a lot of other excitements have come up since then. Congress ordered a national nutrition survey and this is part of it; today we will hear about two of the 10 states surveyed, Louisiana and Texas. But, it's like counting the ballots where the election is already conceded—old stuff. Yes, there's a direct correlation between poverty and malnutrition; who doubted it? Yes, in counties where the survey has been weighted toward low income groups there is almost complete lack of dental care. (It is interesting, though, to think of an area where 18 percent of all subjects over 10 "found it difficult to bite or chew." Curious,

eh?) Then there is that bit about infants and lactating mothers; they are always the ones who show up with iron deficiency anemia, vitamin deficiency and what not. And of course, Negroes and Spanish Americans.

Out of 26 counties surveyed in Texas, 19 have food distribution programs, but only 10 percent of the households in the 19 counties participated. "That's odd; why is it?" asks McGovern as though he didn't know. Well, says Dr. Schaefer almost morosely, suppose a family has income of only \$100 a month—then it's eligible for food stamps. But the head of the family must come into town and put down \$40 cash to get his \$21 food bonus. It's hard for a near-destitute family to raise \$40 cash. It's not easy to get the right papers or to get transportation, or to know when and where. Only 10 percent participate.

Dr. Schaefer says that 40 percent of the children studied in the hungry areas were smaller than a comparable group of kids in Iowa. McGovern tries to put life into it. How about mental retardation? (Scientists know that underfed baby mice are mentally retarded; they think humans are too, and that it's irreversible, they can never catch up.) Dr. Schaefer says that mental tests weren't included. He looks at his colleague as though tempted by an indiscretion. He mutters that so far as he is concerned he thinks undernourished children will score lower; be "harder to teach."

Sitting up there alone McGovern keeps asking questions. He never quits. He lacks the drama of McCarthy; the glamor of Kennedy. He's got no style or wealth. Somewhere out in the Adriatic one time he crash-landed a collapsed B-24 and got a Distinguished Service Cross. But his clothes aren't Fifth Avenue. He's got a slight Midwest nasal accent and kind manner. He doesn't look like a hero. He went to Dakota Wesleyan, and got into politics as a history teacher. He looks like a YMCA secretary.

It is awfully hard to stop men like McGovern. They have iron in them. When they think about hungry children it bothers them. When they go out and find the facts and come back with them then, by golly, before the Senate knows what it's doing it appropriates money—as much as \$200 mil-

lion of it, because McGovern and others won't let up. Will he get his bill through Congress? I don't know. Mr. Nixon had his celebrated "White House Conference on Hunger" which rode off in all directions as expected, and that was *that*. Now the President has more sensational things to spend money on, like Cambodia. But McGovern is still there. "For a quarter of a century," he says in his mild voice, "America has been caring for the rest of the world. The time has come for America to care for its own."

Don't underestimate him.

Pull Off the Scab

Vice President Agnew's procedure is simple; find the wound and pull the scab off. Yale is having trouble, denounce Yale; don't let things heal. Extremists love him; he's the wind that keeps their kite flying. With Mr. Nixon's smiling indulgence, he has come down heavily on intellectuals, colleges, newspapers, radio and TV but until we read the text of his Fort Lauderdale, Fla. speech we hadn't known he had taken on the churches, too. He is attacking permissiveness: "They are the children dropped off by their parents at Sunday School to hear the 'modern' gospel from a 'progressive' preacher, more interested in fighting pollution than in fighting evil—one of those pleasant clergymen who lifts his weekly sermons out of old newsletters from a *National Council of Churches* (sic), that has cast morality and theology aside as not 'relevant' and set as its goal on earth the recognition of Red China and the preservation of the Florida Alligator." Pretty funny, eh? Not that it matters, but Mr. Agnew is an Episcopalian.

Notes: "Frankly, if I had any money I'd be buying stocks right now," Mr. Nixon told visitors April 28, with the Dow Jones industrial average at 747; as this is written it's down to 709. . . . Passage of time note: the National Press Club didn't sell all its seats to the lunch with the three astronauts. . . . Army Chief of Staff Westmoreland told the DAR here the other day, "Our revolution ended the need for revolution forever." . . . Strom Thurmond introduced Mr. Agnew recently as "the greatest Vice President since Calhoun"; Calhoun, whose monument was the ruined South.

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Staying Alive Until 1973

for the Supreme Court." Resuming air attacks against the North, hitting Laos, invading Cambodia, Mr. Nixon simultaneously reduces to a pinhead

the chance he had to contrive a secure and rapid withdrawal of US forces from Indochina, the prerequisite for which is a new regime in Saigon. He has likewise killed, for the foreseeable future, what hope there had been for a practical understanding with the Communist powers on a lowering of tensions and arms budgets. He has again set the campuses aflame, not only with his incendiary military operations, but by his mean contempt for the indignation of the young. And he has gone a long way toward achieving what six months ago seemed inconceivable – the coming together of Peking and Moscow. No prudent citizen ought any longer to give Mr. Nixon the benefit of the doubt which we customarily accord our Presidents. His contradictory reassurances have no credibility. He is driven, disorderly, secretive, but powerful and therefore dangerous.

A sober judgment at this point would be that Mr. Nixon will indeed be a one-term President, joining Herbert Hoover and William Howard Taft in this century. But anyone who takes comfort from that could find a silver lining in a typhoon. For what we must now confront in the most practical way, what Congress especially must come to terms with, somehow, is that barring accidents, Mr. Nixon will be the President until 1973. It is, therefore, the survival of our democratic institutions that we must worry about. How is this country to get through the next two-and-a-half years without flying apart? What restraints inside the government and out can be devised to keep the Commander in Chief under more rational control?

The immediate response of the National Student Association and of approximately 100 student body presidents to the President's enlarging of the war was to "call on the House of Representatives to carry out its constitutionally delegated duties and begin impeachment proceedings against Richard Milhous Nixon." That's shooting for the moon in a balloon. There are not a dozen members of the House who would entertain such a motion today, and if there were, and if they succeeded, President Agnew would be there to carry on the war; and the next man in-line for the Presidency is doddering John McCormack, to whom the booming of American artillery in Indochina is as uplifting as church bells on Sunday. A constructive congressional reaction to Mr. Nixon's delinquency is beginning to emerge, however. When a silent servant of the going

military policy like Senator Clinton Anderson brings himself to say that "Congress . . . was remiss in its duties by allowing the Executive Branch alone to engage the United States so deeply in Vietnam in the absence of a declaration of war," and that his colleagues should "not continue to abrogate our constitutional responsibility," something's up.

Within 24 hours of the Cambodian invasion, Senators Mark Hatfield, George McGovern, Harold Hughes, Charles Goodell and Alan Cranston had held a press conference and pledged "a common legislative approach" to withholding funds for the war—"not through any precipitate action that would endanger lives, but through a commitment to withdraw that will save lives." "It is irresponsible," Senator Hatfield said, "for us to believe that the Executive Branch alone shoulders the responsibility and consequences of our policy in Southeast Asia."

A more precise formulation of this strategy was developed last week by nine Democratic and nine Republican representatives and senators who have formed themselves into a Congressional Committee for a Vote on the War. They will offer by the first week of June, if not before, an amendment to the defense expenditures bill cutting off all military funds, beginning this July, for any operations in Indochina other than troop withdrawals. They will try to change the customary procedures and get a record tally on their amendment, so that voters will know where their representatives stand. Co-chairmen of the Committee are Donald Fraser (D, Minn.) and Donald Riegle (R, Mich.). Theirs is the first important move to limit the President's usurpation of military power. The objective is not to punish the President, but to assert in Congress a disinterested statesmanship that transcends partisan allegiance, personal ambition and traditional deference to the President's military prerogatives.

To urge, as we do, and as Senator Hatfield and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee do, that the balance of power between the Executive and the Legislative be redressed in favor of the Legislative, is to run counter to "the liberal tradition." From the time of Theodore Roosevelt, progressives have favored a strong Executive. If the policy pursued were not so nefarious, and the President not so erratic, that emphasis would deserve to be honored still. But the policy is nefarious and the President is erratic. That is why the balance must swing the other way.

Can this responsibility be left to the Congress alone? It cannot be, because the Congress is not vacuum-packed. It is particularly sensitive to swings in public opinion. The wisest, most courageous congressmen are helpless if they are not reenforced by demonstrations of popular support. The individual citizen has to shoulder his responsibility too, backing up the legislators with letters, visits, telegrams, prayers.

It hardly needs saying that if the present military

course is to be reversed, techniques of persuasion which lend themselves to exploitation by wreckers must be avoided. The bomb and bottle throwers are the allies of the President in their common reliance on violence. Protest is essential, but nothing worthwhile can be won by smashing windows or burning buildings. That leaves many things that can usefully be done, and doing them may often require bypassing the organizational leaders. Labor unions will have to disregard George Meany's enthusiasm for our military policy; disregard men like Joseph Beirne, president of the half-million-member Communications Workers of America and an AFL-CIO vice president, who said last week in Arizona that the bigger war was in the interest of the working man. "Suppose last night," he said, "instead of escalating into Cambodia, President Nixon said we are pulling every man out in the quickest manner, with airplanes and ships; if he had said that last night, this morning the Pentagon would have notified thousands of companies and said 'your contract is cancelled'; by tomorrow millions would be laid off. The effect of our war, while it is going on, is to keep an economic pipeline loaded with a turnover of dollars because people are employed in manufacturing the things of war. If you ended that, tomorrow those same people wouldn't start making houses." Walter Reuther and other labor leaders should have something to say about that.

In addition to giving firm support to what peaceminded congressmen are doing to put a clamp on the hemorrhage of dollars that finance the war, individuals and organizations will have to give time, thought and money to the primary campaigns and to the election this November. Fifty volunteers in a congressional district *can* make the difference between victory for an incumbent hawk, or his defeat. Five thousand dollars can make the difference, too.

But even political action is not enough. There are millions of Americans who are willing to sacrifice if their sacrifice has any promise of shortening the war. They want something to do. In our judgment, one thing that they can do is commit themselves to stop buying anything that is not absolutely necessary for survival. A massive refusal, a vote "no" by withholding the dollar, is within the reach of every man; it is effective, legal, the results are visible.

Let consumers postpone their purchase of that new appliance, house, car. Let the students, as a memorial to that awful Monday on the campus of Kent State College, stop riding in cars, delay buying the new coat or pair of shoes. And let them go into their communities, and win recruits for a buyers' strike and for antiwar candidates. Politics and the purse are power.

We look to the Congress, but the Congress looks to the people. Urgency at this moment is not rashness, but wisdom. If the people are silent, leaving America's destiny to those who, like the President, put their trust in guns, then "the System" *will* have failed.

Russians In Egypt

Israel will try not to engage Russian airmen in combat unless they fly near the Suez Canal, says Golda Meir. The Israeli defense minister, Moshe Dayan, has gone further, offering Egypt "an unconditional and unlimited cease-fire even if this will enable Egypt to reorganize and put up SAM-3 missile sites." Twenty SAM-3 sites have been installed already, for defending Cairo, Alexandria and the Aswan Dam. Each site is manned by about 150 Russians. Between 50 and 150 Soviet airmen are flying MIG-21s in Egypt. Their job seems to be to defend the SAM-3 sites, and the Russians manning them, from Israeli attack.

The arrival of the Russian airmen marks a new phase of escalation. There are believed to be about 6000 Russian military in Egypt, who with their families make a total of perhaps 20,000 resident Soviet citizens. Russians train the Egyptian army, teaching it to work surface-to-air missiles less complex than the SAM-3s. They are attached to Egyptian units down to battalion level. Some have been killed in the Canal zone, though Moscow prefers not to publicize their deaths. Israeli air strikes hit hard at Egyptian artillery massed near the Canal and the question is whether the Russians will put SAM-3 sites in the Canal zone in order to fend off the strikes, then extend their air umbrella to defend the SAMs. If they do, and Soviet airmen get shot down by Israeli planes, will Brezhnev and Kosygin then feel the way President Nixon does about North Vietnam, that they cannot afford "humiliation" at the hands of a small country even though it was they who constituted themselves its enemy?

The answer turns on what the Soviet Union is up to in the Middle East. Of course the Russians are wooing the Arabs by helping them against Israel. But are they prepared to attempt Israel's destruction at the price of inevitable major confrontation with this country? Defending the Nile Valley and Delta is one thing; providing a shield for forward Egyptian forces so they can decimate the Israeli army is another.

Disturbingly, the war has heated up not only along the Canal but also at places along the Jordanian and Syrian borders with Israel. Since 1957 this country has furnished Jordan with about \$650 million of military and economic aid. Its reward last week was to have to recall Ambassador Symmes, at King Hussein's demand, following mob-siege of the Embassy in Amman, and the burning down of an American library there. Assistant Secretary Joseph J. Sisco was received by Nasser on his recent Middle East tour, but it was deemed wiser for him not to visit Jordan, though he had planned to do so. Hubert Humphrey probably wouldn't have been gambling if he'd offered to bet on his announced belief, during his visit to Israel, that Washington will now let Mrs. Meir have the Phan-

toms and Skyhawk jets she requested from Mr. Nixon. Unfortunately, arms deliveries won't settle the Middle-East conflict.

Israel had its twenty-second birthday this week, May 11, but celebrations were scarcely in order. The Israelis know that American officials are thinking along the lines of a Palestinian state on the West Bank; Secretary of State Rogers last December 9 talked about "the new consciousness among young Palestinians." The trouble is that some, very likely most, of those "young Palestinians" have dedicated themselves, not to becoming peaceful neighbors of Israel if they get a state of their own, but to the extermination of Israel as a state. According to Yassir Arafat, the leader of the powerful guerrilla organization *El Fatah*, "Peace for us means Israel's destruction and nothing else." And he added: "Palestine is only a small drop in the great Arab ocean. Our nation is the Arab nation, extending from the Atlantic Sea to the Red Sea and beyond." Campaign oratory, perhaps; but can the US take a chance that it's nothing more, and press on with schemes for a Middle East settlement which, if successful, would strengthen the Palestinians? It always comes back to the question of proper guarantees of Israel's security, which are all Israel is asking for. The Russians could facilitate a settlement, and regain territory lost to Israel by their Arab proteges, by lending their weight to the legitimate Israeli claim to be let live in peace. But until they do, this country's sole option is to help Israel defend itself.

Early Primaries

The race for governor of Alabama, seen only as a state affair, is small potatoes. Governor Albert Brewer was picked by George Wallace to run in tandem with wife Lurleen in 1966. He was a Wallace man then and would be now had he not developed a taste for the office he inherited on her death, and had Wallace not found it opportune to stay on stage. Brewer is less shrill, less flamboyant a symbol of political primitivism than Wallace. But his efforts to capture the 295,000 black voters of Alabama by saying nothing about race is hardly evidence that he means well by them. (Black registration is up to 200 percent since passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.) The contest was not between opposing views; Wallace and Brewer both want to lure industry to Alabama, economic development without increasing taxes, and so forth.

Thus, the choice for Alabamians was whether to elect a man who wants just to be governor, or a man who wants to be something bigger. Brewer came in first, but neither candidate got a majority in a field of

seven candidates; the runoff is June 2. Some think that a Wallace victory in June would help assure Mr. Nixon's defeat should he choose to run again, a strong Wallace showing in '72 would cut into Nixon's Southern support. If Wallace loses then, he will not necessarily be out of business in '72. Other candidates in other years have lost state elections and remained active in national elections. Richard Nixon comes to mind.

Senator Yarborough's defeat in Texas at the hands of conservative businessman Lloyd Bentsen was a surprise. Until a month before the primary, Yarborough was considered a sure thing. Bentsen invested a million dollars in television advertising, and it paid off. Bentsen forces bore down hard on a number of issues on which Yarborough was vulnerable with Texans: his vote against Carswell, the school busing issue, prayer in schools. Bentsen, in the words of one local observer, "conjured up a bugaboo of blacks, black panthers, hippies, and violence in Chicago. He held Yarborough directly responsible politically for violence in the Chicago demonstrations." The defeated senator underestimated the danger and campaigned only on weekends for a total of 18 days, returning to Washington each week to Senate business. The support he expected from blacks, Mexican Americans, labor and rural Democrats did not materialize. He got the black vote, or what there was of it, but the turnout was not large. The *Mexicano* vote was split. Senator Yarborough lost by a margin of 89,000 votes in a total vote of 1.5 million. Had there been a turnout of 1.8 or 2 million Yarborough thinks that he would have won. The mathematics aren't important now. Voting against Haynsworth and Carswell, voting against the Dirksen prayer proposal, supporting the Moratorium and opposing the war in Vietnam—all seem to have hurt him. He may have been, as Bentsen charged, "too liberal for Texas."

Yarborough says he will vote the Democratic ticket in November, and regular Democrats like National Chairman Larry O'Brien will support Bentsen. Rep. George Bush is the probable Republican candidate in November. There's little to choose between them. Both will lean slightly leftward between now and November, as a gesture to Yarborough's homeless supporters.

The best news comes from Ohio. For the senatorial nomination, Democrats rejected folk-hero John Glenn in favor of a relatively unknown, liberal, Jewish champion of the poor, the blacks and of civil liberties—Howard Metzenbaum, of Cleveland. He is outspokenly antiwar. The Republicans were equally discriminating in choosing Rep. Robert Taft, Jr., over Gov. James Rhodes as their senatorial nominee. Democrat John J. Gilligan of Cincinnati, a forceful "new politics" man will compete for the governorship with a moderate Republican, State Auditor Roger Cloud.

Intelsat on Ice?

Weary representatives of the international consortium that owns the world's commercial communications satellite network will be dragging themselves back to Washington next week to try again to agree on the future structure of their club. They've been at it since a year ago February. They have been thinking about it since 1964 when Intelsat was created by Comsat, the American communications satellite corporation, to put an international face on its business. The original agreement provided that definitive arrangements for Intelsat would be drawn up in 1969, but all the preparations and two full-dress plenipotentiary conferences have not produced.

Until a permanent agreement is reached, the temporary arrangements remain in force, under which Comsat has a far larger role than it will have under any future setup. It is not only the largest shareholder but it has veto power over the decisions of the rest. It is the manager of the satellite system; it lets the contracts and handles the money without having to bother to explain in any great detail how it does so.

The wrangling during the past 15 months has been over Comsat's future part in the organization. Intelsat now has 75 member countries, compared with its original 14. They want it to be run by a truly international organization, with its day-to-day business in the hands of an international directorate, and its overall policies determined by an Assembly in which each country would have one vote, the United States and Kuwait alike. Comsat, on the other hand, as a private US corporation supposed to make money for its stockholders (chief among which is the American Telephone and Telegraph Company) wants to see Intelsat run like a business. The last thing it wants is a regular repetition of the tedious diplomatic buffeting that the present interminable conference has produced.

Two months ago, peace suddenly loomed into view. Nudged by the State Department, Comsat made a monumental concession. It dropped the demand to be the sole manager of Intelsat forever and instead agreed to let Intelsat be managed by a director-general and an international staff. This, plus some compromises stitched together by the Australians and the Japanese out of proposals made by two major rival factions, one led by the United States and the other by the European countries, made it seem that the deadlock was broken. *The Washington Post* and the *Associated Press* gave out the good news. It was premature.

Why? Some of the European group frankly believed that Comsat had doctored the wording of the compromise so that what had been agreed on informally meant something quite different (more power to Comsat) when put in treaty language. They felt tricked. So did the American delegation. They were

also embarrassed. In order to surrender on the managership issue, they had first to get permission from the White House and Capitol Hill (Senator Pastore had threatened to roast publicly any bureaucrat who handed over to foreign governments the American-created satellite network). And they got permission on the assumption that the deadlock would be broken. As one delegate said, "So we gave them what they wanted and they found something else to fight about."

The foreign partners have indeed found something else to fight about: the Assembly representing the governments of the countries in Intelsat. Is it to be able to dictate to the Board of Governors, where the biggest users of satellites are represented (and where Comsat will have around 40 percent of the vote)? Or is the Board going to be free of interference to run the business of Intelsat itself? Is the Assembly, in other words, going to be the supreme organ of Intelsat, holding the residual powers not delegated to any other part of the organization? Or is it to be just a forum where many small countries who have no voice on the Board of Directors can have the satisfaction of making speeches on the new technology? The smaller nations of Africa and the Middle East have dug their heels in on the issue of a strong Assembly, and they have some sympathy from the Europeans, anxious to get a better share of satellite contracts.

Satellite signals ignore national boundaries yet must feed into the world's existing communications network, which is nationally regulated. The Intelsat agreement could be a model for other contracts to be drawn up as other new international enterprises are created by new technologies—the commercial exploitation of the ocean floor, for example. The problem will recur again; whatever the technology, the United States will probably be its originator, its biggest investor and its biggest customer at the start. And those who join in will be worried about the decades ahead; what is on everybody's mind at Intelsat is the day when the organization may sell special services, like weather prediction or aircraft guidance, which have nothing to do with telecommunications.

Perhaps the bitterness of the battle may be explained by the extravagant hopes that the foreign partners in Intelsat have for satellites. Or perhaps by Comsat's terror at being deprived by the FCC of its claim to a monopoly on an American domestic satellite system. Comsat now is desperate to retain its dominance in the international satellite field. "Why should we hand it over to them?" is the bitter cry. "What did they ever do for it? We gave it to them and now they're trying to take it away from us." It is easy to forget that as of now, Intelsat is worth no more than \$200 million and that its managership, being fought over like a kingship, brings Comsat only about \$150,000 a year.

Brenda Maddox

The Nixon Watch

The Road to Madness

Retracing the President's road to the current madness in Cambodia is a painful exercise for one who has been persuaded and has reported, as I have been reporting in this journal since last summer, that Mr. Nixon had a better understanding of the nature of the Vietnam war and was working toward a saner solution of the Vietnam problem than he thought it wise or possible to indicate in public. I have written in effect that he really understood that, as he said so recently as April 20, "A political settlement is the heart of the matter." And I have written that he was prepared to pay any price in the form of concession to the Vietnam Communists that a political settlement required, if only they would heed his many public and private signals to that effect and begin to bargain seriously with the American negotiators in Paris.

The saddest thing to be said of Mr. Nixon now is that all of this was true and that in terms of his ultimate hopes and intentions it is still true. It is sad because he has made the truth unbelievable with his deliberate extension of the war from South Vietnam into neutral Cambodia and with the wild and irresponsible rhetoric in which he clothed the announcement of his act on April 30. His talk in that announcement of the "intolerable" attitude of an enemy that has presumed to ignore the warnings of "the richest and strongest nation in the history of the world," and his professed refusal to accept "a peace of humiliation" at "the cost of seeing America become a second-rate power," obscured and seemed to negate the passage in which he also said: "The time came long ago to end this war through peaceful negotiations. We stand ready for those negotiations. We have made major efforts, many of which must remain secret. All the offers and approaches made previously remain on the conference table whenever Hanoi is ready to negotiate seriously."

The offers and approaches and the policy that they reflected date back to May 14 of last year, when Mr. Nixon renounced "a purely military solution" in Vietnam and moved toward the present course of gradual troop withdrawal. Then and in the months that followed, he said and reiterated that every issue involved in the Vietnam war was negotiable except "the opportunity for the South Vietnamese people to determine their own future." That condition could be and was interpreted as a cover for rigid and self-defeating support of the Thieu regime in Saigon, but it was qualified in open and secret ways that were intended to draw Hanoi and the Vietcong into practical negotiation. The Hanoi government was offered a place on an international commission that would su-

pervise post-war elections in South Vietnam. The Vietcong was offered a right to contest the elections "as an organized force" and thus, by clear implication, any role that it might win politically in any elected postwar government. The suggestion that much broader concessions were possible, given serious negotiation, was implicit in the public statements of these offers and it was made explicit in private assurances conveyed to Hanoi. The supporting policy of "Vietnamization," meaning the training and equipment of the South Vietnamese military to take over ground combat as American troop levels were reduced, was intended to convince Hanoi and the Vietcong leadership that they confronted a genuine choice between a negotiated settlement, profitable to them, and indefinite warfare at a cost they could not forever afford.

Mr. Nixon and the principal co-architect of the total policy, his adviser Henry Kissinger, believed through the summer and well into the fall of last year that it was going to work. They expected it to bring about productive negotiation in Paris and a settlement that would end the war on terms short of acknowledged defeat and humiliation for the United States. Their expectations faded into hopes, and the hopes began to fade toward despair, in the September-October period of last year. Mr. Nixon's major policy statement on November 3 reflected the change, but the promise to Hanoi of substantial concessions if only it would enter serious negotiation was still implicit and continued to be emphasized in private explanations of the policy at the White House. That statement, like the ones that preceded and followed it, did not have the intended effect upon Hanoi. But its impact at home had a profound and, as we are seeing now, a fateful effect upon Mr. Nixon. The public support that his November 3 speech won for him persuaded the President that getting out of the war was not as imperative as he had thought it was. The effect was first apparent on December 15 when he quoted a statement equating "a just peace" with "maintaining an independent, non-Communist South Vietnam" and said that it was "in line with my own attitude." By pledging himself to accept any outcome of elections in South Vietnam, including if need be a Communist or coalition government, Mr. Nixon had previously and deliberately, in the interest of encouraging negotiation, renounced the hitherto basic American premise that the preservation of a "non-Communist South Vietnam" was essential to American security. The shift in tone, hardly noticed at the time, presaged his plunge into the rhetoric of April 30, with its neurotic theme that "the world's most powerful nation" would be acting "like a pitiful, helpless giant" if it tolerated the presence and threat of perhaps 40,000 Communist troops along South Vietnam's Cambodian borders.

It is being said at the White House now, with no sense of confession or error, that the President did not estimate the threat from Cambodia in that way only 10 days before he ordered American troops into Cambodia. In his broadcast speech of April 20, announcing his intention to reduce American forces in Vietnam by 150,000 within 12 months, he warned Hanoi that he would "take strong and effective measures" if it responded to the American withdrawal with "increased military action in Vietnam, in Cambodia, or in Laos." But I know of no reason to disbelieve the flat assertions of his principal staff advisers that he did not then consider the North Vietnamese and Vietcong presence and activities in Cambodia to require the measures that he took on April 30.

The offered explanation is ludicrous in its bald insufficiency. It is, of course, that the overthrow of Prince Sihanouk's neutral government by rightist General Lon Nol and his clique and the subsequent movement of North Vietnamese and Vietcong Communists upon the capital at Pnompenh, threatened to turn the whole of Cambodia into an enemy redoubt for use against the American forces in South Vietnam. Prince Sihanouk was overthrown in his absence on March 19. The consequent threat to Pnompenh and Communist advances in the Cambodian countryside had been evident for more than two weeks when Mr. Nixon spoke on April 20. His very special spokesman, produced as is usual on such occasions, said that the Communist forces known to be in action within Cambodia against Cambodian forces totalled no more than 5000 troops, operating in units of a few hundred. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird said in another special press briefing at the Pentagon that the movement of Communist supplies from North Vietnamese "sanctuaries" in Cambodia into the bordering Delta and Saigon areas of South Vietnam had dropped "to zero" in the weeks just preceding the American attacks upon those sanctuaries. His remark was one of the many odd and inherently contradictory justifications of the American ground attacks and of the resumed bombing of North Vietnam border targets that characterized the official performance in the aftermath of the President's action. It was all too believable that the vaunted "Vietnamization" process was threatened with failure and required at least another six months of maximum American support and protection. This claim, amounting as it did to an unintended confession that the Nixon policy was in danger of collapse, was just about the only thing said in behalf of his action that was wholly believable.

What, then, had happened? One thing that had happened beyond dispute (though it was disputed) was a visible change in Mr. Nixon's mode of behavior. He had been tiring himself, to an extent and in ways that he for years had consciously schooled himself not

to do. He himself said, for example, that he was up until 5 A.M. on April 30, writing and rewriting the speech that he delivered that night after breifing congressional leaders for 45 minutes. But this, in my guess, was only a symptom of the fundamental happening that explained, better than all of his and his spokesmen's words, the decision to order the invasion that was "not an invasion of Cambodia." Mr. Nixon, again in my guess, had been brought to recognize the failure, actual in part and impending in part, of his entire Vietnam policy - negotiation, Vietnamization and all - and the recognition was more than he could bear with his usual quietude.

John Osborne

They Don't Work Here Anymore

Uncivil Servants

An occupational hazard not covered in the new mine safety law is the peril in which government officials place themselves when they get too interested in mine safety and, more broadly, when they argue other positions they believe are in the public interest. A number of federal officials in recent weeks have been bounced, demoted, transferred or otherwise hurt. What emerges from analysis of their downward mobility is that it does not pay in this Administration (how often has it?) to champion public interest over private. In addition to playing it cool on mine safety, government careerists would do well to soft pedal opposition to the oil depletion allowance and oil import quotas.

Examples. Gerald M. Brannon was until recently Director of the Office of Tax Analysis at the Treasury Department. A political appointee of the Democrats, Brannon had contracted with a private Pittsburgh research organization called CONSAD to do economic analysis of the oil depletion allowance. The report (never released) and a separate paper Brannon wrote himself, damned the allowance. Brannon lost his title, part of his function, and had his salary cut. It is standard procedure for a new Administration to replace political appointees of the opposite party with men of their own. In Brannon's case he was kept but demoted to *Associate* Director of the Tax Analysis Office, before anyone else had been found to replace him. The old job is still vacant. Brannon claims that he performs "virtually the same job" and does "substantially the same things" as he did before, but with less pay, prestige and authority. Brannon had been a career civil servant before his elevation and that is what he is again, grateful to have a job and charitably reluctant to charge the Administration with malice.

David B. Brooks, a PhD economist with degrees in geology, was Chief Economist in the Bureau of Mines at the Interior Department. An active member of Federal Employees for a Democratic Society (FEDS), a small but pesky antiwar organization, Brooks was responsible for a study of the cost to consumers of the oil import quota program. He concluded that restricting imports of foreign oil costs the public more than \$5 billion a year in excessive gas and oil prices. His research was submitted to President Nixon's task force on the import program and may have influenced its eventual conclusion (ignored by the Administration) that the quota system should be scrapped and replaced with a tariff. Secretary of Interior Walter Hickel, Brooks' boss, dissented from the task force conclusion, supported the quota system and ignored the conclusions of his own staff study by David Brooks.

Brooks had done other unpopular work; for example, a report on the government's helium program. The government pays certain natural gas companies to extract helium, which is then put underground and stored for future use. According to Brooks, the stockpile of helium, used in circus balloons and NASA rockets, is sufficient to last until the year 2050. The needless subsidy paid to companies in the helium business (Cities Service and Phillips among others) approximates \$50 million a year. The Secretary's office, partial to the helium program, did not like Brooks' analysis. It was not, as it would ordinarily have been, transmitted to the Budget Bureau. (Notwithstanding Interior's attitude, the helium program's fate is uncertain, since it is obvious that it has a strategic importance comparable to that of the office of tea tasters.)

Brooks says that when he took his job at Interior he yawned through a speech by a *former* director of Bureau of Mines on the agency's responsibility to protect the public interest. Later, after some on-the-job experience, he realized that the speech had been radical in the context of a department whose allegiances generally are to industry.

Take oil shale. In 1968 Interior issued a generally commendable report on shale, which recommended among other things that the government, in Brooks' words, "act like a monopolist to the companies" and sell mineral rights to the highest bidder, thus contributing to federal revenue. (The alternative is to allow exploitation of oil shale on a first-come-first-served basis, with oil companies sharing the ownership or mineral rights à la Dixon-Yates.) Brooks' own study found, moreover, that extracting oil from shale is not yet profitably possible. "Interior didn't like that conclusion," Brooks contends, because "it prevents giving away land so easily." The man who wrote the actual shale report, Harry Perry, has been moved about within the agency, and it is said that his opinions on policy matters have lost their tang.

Recently Interior announced a reorganization of the

Bureau of Mines that had the effect if not the intent of ridding the agency of types like Brooks and re-orienting the Bureau's work toward concern for industry. The reshuffling, set in motion by Assistant Secretary Hollis M. Dole, abolished the Bureau of Mineral Economics and recreated it as the Office of Economic Analysis. The Director of the Bureau of Mines, John F. O'Leary was fired. He'd been a strong advocate of mine safety legislation. William A. Vogely, the assistant director, transferred to another job (at the Internal Revenue Service) just in the nick of time before the reorganization was set in motion. Brooks was retained in a job without title or function since, apparently, there was no grounds to fire him for cause. Vogely says he did not know of the impending shakeup when he quit and that he intended to leave for some time, but he concurs that the agency had been taken over in an industry coup and he's glad to be gone. "It was beautiful timing," he says.

Brooks' experience was more complicated. Deciding to bail out, he accepted a job offer from the Budget Bureau to be in charge of natural resource and environmental program planning. He visited the Bureau, was introduced to his staff, and was due to report for work March 20. Four days before he was to start he received a telegram telling him that "circumstances have arisen that preclude the availability of a position for you . . . We thought you should know as soon as possible so that you can adjust your plans accordingly." The Ernest Fitzgerald of the Interior Department, Brooks is treading water in his now functionless job until he finds something else.

The Mines reorganization to which Brooks fell victim resulted in a new "commodity approach" to mineral policy. New divisions of coal, oil and gas, helium and shale oil, will be directly accessible to industry pressure. The men now most directly responsible for minerals policy came to their jobs from industry backgrounds. One was an Oklahoma oil lawyer; another managed the Colorado Mining Association. (Congressman Henry S. Reuss on April 24 wrote to Assistant Secretary Dole characterizing the shakeup as "inconsistent with the Bureau's obligation." In his letter he quoted disparagingly an unpublished department document which said one purpose of the reorganization was providing "a close and confidential relationship between the Bureau of Mines and all levels of industry.")

The purge of public interest types in government resource programs has not been confined to the executive departments. John M. Blair, the well-known chief economist of Senator Philip Hart's monopoly subcommittee has also been fired. Although Blair was described in press accounts quoting "Senate sources" as "hard to get along with," his dismissal, effective in May, surprised many people in Washington familiar with his contribution to antimonopoly studies. Blair

had been with the subcommittee for 13 years. A farewell tribute in *The Washington Post* by Bernard D. Nossiter, began: "The departure of staff aides from Capitol Hill is rarely an occasion of note. The resignation [sic] of John M. Blair from the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, however, is a special case. . . . Blair has made an enormous contribution to charting the contours of American industry. The hearings he directed over this span into steel, autos, drugs, oil and the rest have deepened our insight into the most sensitive areas of corporate decision-making." Blair is credited with writing the Kefauver-Harris drug amendments, which for the first time required drug manufacturers to establish the safety and effectiveness of drugs they sell. In recent Senate hearings he led the fight against oil import quotas and the billions of dollars they cost the public in higher gas and oil prices.

Nossiter said "resignation," but in undisputed fact Blair was sacked. The official explanation is that Howard "Buck" O'Leary, the new, 31 year old, staff director of the subcommittee appointed last fall wanted to appoint his own staff and that Senator Hart and other members, in fairness gave him free hand. "The Pope must support the bishops if he doesn't want to deal with priests who sometimes are troublesome," says Blair. Blair has nothing but praise for Senator Hart, who has been energetic in antitrust, civil rights, and anti-ABM fights, and he is eager that Hart beat the Romneys in the Michigan fall election. But Blair has not been particularly close to Hart and had substantial discussions with the Senator "only half a dozen times in the last seven years." O'Leary disliked Blair and wanted him out and therefore asked him to resign and take a consultantship. Simple as that?

Blair says he was told by an economist at the Bureau of Mines that an official of the Humble Oil Company had said flatly "Blair will be fired." The week Blair got the news the monopoly subcommittee suspended hearings on oil import quotas without pretext, and oil companies raised retail gas prices a penny a gallon. (Cost to consumers: \$800 million a year.)

The President's Cabinet has been affected by the resource purge. Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz, the chairman of the President's task force on the oil import quotas, concluded after study that quotas should be abolished and replaced with a low tariff, lower than a majority of the task force favored. The minority view, that things should be left much as they are, was expressed by Interior Secretary Hickel and by Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans. Nixon's enthusiasm for the task force's conclusions was nil and, following tradition in such cases, he dissolved the group with thanks and constituted a new body to study its conclusions. Practically all the members of the task force were reappointed to the study group—but Secretary Shultz was not.

David Sanford

Go North, Young Man

The New Exodus

by Roger Williams

Montreal, Canada

Meeting recently with a delegation of Canadian Mennonites, Pierre Eliot Trudeau was urged not to close Canada's borders to military deserters from "other countries." (Can one imagine Nixon meeting with Mennonite pacifists?) The prime minister replied that the government had no such intention: "I, too, hope Canada will become a refuge from militarism." As the northward exodus continues, that is what Canada is becoming. The exact number of deserters and draft resisters residing in Canada is unknown, though the figure 60,000 has become "enshrined," as one conservative MP put it, and has been carried south by the *N.Y. Times* and by Rep. Edward Koch (D, N.Y.). The conservative figure is "at least 30,000." Qualified observers in Canada's three largest cities insist there are many more than that.

Vance Gardner, director of the Montreal Council to Aid War Resisters, bases his extrapolation on immigration department tables which show approximately 14,000 male, draft-age *landed immigrants* from the US here now. He concludes, along with Jim Wilcox of the Ottawa anti-draft group, Bill Hertzog of the American Deserters Committee in Montreal and Bill Spira of the Toronto Anti-Draft Programme that the national figure is three or four times that, since a great many young men *don't* become landed immigrants. They move through the underground, work illegally, live off money they've brought with them or have sent, generally hang around and don't bother to apply for official immigrant status. The largest agglomeration of draft resisters and deserters is to be found in the cities. Mr. Gardner also points out that there are many thousands of young American males studying at Canadian universities, perhaps ten thousand across Canada; most are eligible for the draft. Few plan to return to the US if and when they are called.

The Toronto Anti-Draft Programme has counseled some ten to twelve thousand young men during its three and a half years. Groups in Vancouver, Montreal and Ottawa—there are two active counseling and assistance groups in each city—together have seen at least 20,000 young Americans in the past four years.

ROGER WILLIAMS, 27 years old and married, has lived in Canada the past year. He is author of a forthcoming book, *The Reflections of an American Exile*.

These figures do not take into account the many who don't need assistance and stay clear of these groups.

The sharp increase during the past year in the number of "political refugees," as they are coming to be called, is attributable to a change in policy on the deserter question. (Not only have more deserters-resisters been coming here, but general American immigration to Canada is rising. This last year there was a 14 percent increase over 1968 in the number of Americans of all ages and sexes who have immigrated to Canada; for the second year in a row, the northward flow is larger than the number of Canadians moving south. America has gone from first place to second, ranking behind Great Britain, in the list of nations that provide immigrants to Canada.) In the past 12 months beginning May 22, 1969, when Canada decided to accept US military deserters as landed immigrants, all the counseling groups report handling at least twice as many men as before. The number of draft resisters remains constant and deserters now make up one-half to two-thirds of all the men these organizations see. Contrary to the Pentagon's announcement (Dec. 31, 1969) that there are 576 deserters in Canada, the American Deserters' Committee in Montreal has counseled 700 in the past nine months. Three times as many go to Toronto and twice as many to Vancouver. A reasonable estimate of the number of American deserters in Canada would be five to eight thousand.

Although many deserters are not qualified for white collar jobs, and thus threaten blue-collar Canadians in a country already beset with unemployment, Canadian support seems as strong as it was when the nation was only confronted with draft-dodgers, a harmless appellation in a country with no draft. Despite the pejorative label the deserters are stuck with and highly publicized cases of criminal acts—assault, armed robbery—the deserters have found nearly as much public sympathy as they have in Sweden. (Perhaps more. The Swedes recently asked a Canadian NATO delegation: "How do you get away with allowing American deserters into Canada? You wouldn't believe the amount of pressure put on us by the US when we admitted deserters—the pressure from the Americans that we *still* suffer.") The Canadian government first clarified its policy on desertion several months after a delegation of anti-draft leaders, churchmen, National Democratic Party MPs, civil

servants and lawyers presented their petition and brief to Allen MacEachen, Minister of Immigration. A young Liberal MP from Montreal, Marcel Prud'homme, brought together parliamentary support for a study session caucus, and ultimately word went out that deserters were not to be turned back at the border as visitors and were to be treated the same as other applicants when applying for immigration.

The draft dodger question and now the deserter issue seem to be ready-made pegs on which Canadians can hang their anti-Americanism. Despite pressure, overt or covert, to return all these young men like a good friendly neighbor, Canada hasn't done so.

Conservatives and liberals use the deserter-resister issue to assert Canadian independence. They smile and point out that nothing in Canadian law prevents their nation from accepting servicemen still in the active service of their respective countries. They remind outsiders that America accepted Canadian deserters as immigrants before World War II. Canada hostile to the US? Never! The government is simply enforcing its laws and making sure its policies are implemented impartially.

An indication of public attitudes toward deserters is the recent outcry over the handling of three American deserters by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in British Columbia. The deserters were taken to the border and turned over to US authorities. One of the young men escaped and returned to Canada where he told his story to the press. Members of parliament and several Canadian dailies pressed for an investigation. A federal inquiry in April accused the RCMP and local immigration officers of illegal action. While the government fretted over RCMP interference with "the letter of immigration law," the Montreal *Star* editorialized on the "spirit of its enforcement." "Canada's liberal policy towards United States military deserters is apparently being undermined by the zealotry of law enforcement officers in this country . . . the deserters' welcome has become tarnished." The *Star's Weekend*, a Sunday supplement included in 39 Canadian papers, recently featured a very sympathetic cover article on the American deserters, focusing on the ADC in Montreal, and ran an editorial in defense of that article and in response to a number of critical letters denouncing "the creeps," "cowards" and so on. Frank Lewis, the editor, drew a parallel between the deserters and the United Empire Loyalists who settled Ontario during the American Revolution. He asked rhetorically how these Canadians would have regarded their own forebears and then he asked Canadians to recall "one of the most memorable quotes of the decade: 'I had to obey the rules of war and my flag. I am ready.' Those were the last words of Adolph Eichmann."

As the position of the American emigrés, especially

the deserters, becomes more secure and the counseling and aid groups are more and more able to count on many liberal MPs, several Conservatives, the New Democratic Party, the media and the gracious acceptance by the Canadian people, young men denounced by the Vice President of the United States as common criminals are turning to political activism. There is now less and less hesitancy to use the word exile and to call oneself that, though there is a commensurate sensitivity to Canada's official attitude, which is to encourage immigration for the betterment of Canada. Forming exile communities is not the best way to become integrated into Canadian life. This exile-immigrant contradiction will not be soon resolved. Toronto's newly-formed "Red White & Black," growing out of the Union of American Exiles, now defunct, encompasses the contradictions in an attempt to "bridge the gaps—cultural, social, economic, organizational, educational, political—between the expatriate and the exile, the idea and the act, the old involvements with the crisis in the US and the new involvements with Canadian life." This ambivalence, stemming from the resister-deserter having been an organizer, a radical, in the US out of love of country, and now having to become a good Canadian concerned with Canada, appears in print in *AmEx* (American Exile), an exile magazine published independently every month in Toronto. In Montreal, the American Deserters' Committee makes room for young men who never intend to return to the US, and also for those who still look south. The ADC sends its materials south through ties with the coffee house projects and the GI press, and encourages GI resistance within the army, with Canada as an option when a soldier faces either the stockade or Vietnam.

Unity comes on the question of amnesty. No one wants it, though reasons for disparaging the idea differ. Individuals and groups concerned primarily with bringing the young refugees into Canadian life, making sure they are an asset and not a political liability, know that to discuss amnesty or work for it is to impinge on the welcome here—"What? Isn't Canada good enough for you?"—and to psychologically disorient the newcomer, distracting him from taking Canada and his new life seriously. These groups know that there has *never* been an amnesty in the U.S. Likewise, the politicized, the radicals who *do* want to go back, or who think of themselves *only* as temporary residents, are insulted by the very discussion of amnesty, as Rep. Edward Koch was surprised to discover during his visit here last fall. The analogy to Nazi Germany is drawn: Willy Brandt didn't ask for, nor would have accepted, amnesty from the Third Reich, and yet his civil rights as a German citizen were eventually restored as were those of thousands of others. Amnesty implies guilt, they say, and they do not feel guilty.

Desegregation: The South Is Different

by Paul M. Rilling

"If we are to be realists, we must recognize that in a free society there are limits to the amount of government coercion that can reasonably be used —"

President Richard M. Nixon, statement on school desegregation, March 24, 1970

"Laws that affect the whole population — draft laws, income-tax laws, traffic laws — manage to work even though they may be unpopular; but laws passed for the Negro's benefit are so widely unenforced that it is a mockery to call them laws. There is a tragic gulf between civil rights laws passed and civil rights laws implemented. There is a double standard in the enforcement of law and a double standard in the respect for particular laws."

Martin Luther King, Jr.

By the summer of 1968, prior to the Presidential campaign, the federal government had finally established its credibility in the South. HEW guidelines required complete desegregation by September 1969 or, in the case of certain exceptions, by September 1970. Most Southern leaders had accepted the inevitable. They would have to desegregate their schools with or without federal court orders. As Governor McNair of South Carolina put it, "We have run out of time. We have run out of courts."

Had the federal government held firm in the implementation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 we would today be within reach of the goal of total elimination of the dual school system in the South.

Instead the Nixon Administration politicized the administration of Title VI, withdrew the desegregation deadlines, de-emphasized the administrative enforcement of Title VI, and made equivocal statements that gave new hope to Southern segregationists that they might yet avoid the inevitable.

The result of this retreat has been the revival of active, increasingly well-organized segregationist opposition in the South. Many districts are backing away from voluntary or court-ordered desegregation plans. Four deep South states have adopted anti-busing laws based on that of New York State. The governors of Georgia, Louisiana and Florida have called for open defiance of desegregation court orders. There has been one instance of mob violence against school children.

The definitive policy statement of the President, finally issued on March 24, adopted much of the verbiage of the segregationists: we must preserve neighborhood schools; busing is bad; education is more

important than integration; desegregation heightens racial tensions; many Negroes don't want it, etc.

The essence of current Southern segregationist strategy is to confuse and fragment the national consensus for desegregated education. A cornerstone of that effort is the original Stennis amendment, providing that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 must "be applied uniformly to all regions of the United States in dealing with conditions of segregation by race, whether *de jure* or *de facto* in the schools of the local educational agencies of any state without regard to origin or cause of such segregation." "Equality of treatment" is the new catchword of segregationist politicians and editorialists.

Much of the current rhetoric about black separatism, the problems of the big-city ghetto schools, compensatory education, and Northern hypocrisy is not very relevant to the Southern situation. Yet this rhetoric, too, is a part of current Southern segregationist strategy.

The Southern problem really *is* different in some respects. In the South school desegregation is a practical possibility. It is also the only way that black children can hope to achieve equal educational opportunity.

Virtually all school segregation in the South is *de jure*. Where desegregation has not yet taken place students continue to attend the same schools that were built for white and black students, respectively, under former segregation statutes. Outside of a handful of urban centers there has been relatively little resegregation resulting from shifts in housing patterns. Admittedly, most Southern desegregation is too recent for resegregation patterns to be evident as yet.

The South is still predominantly non-urban. There are only a few large-ghetto cities in the deep South. Outside large cities, and sometimes inside, housing patterns are less rigidly segregated than in the North.

From a technical standpoint Southern school districts can generally be desegregated fairly efficiently through the use of affirmative neighborhood zoning, pairing of

PAUL M. RILLING was the Southern Regional Director, HEW Office for Civil Rights, who resigned in protest against the firing of Leon Panetta of that Office and against the trend it signified.

schools, consolidation of schools, or some combination of these. The real problems connected with Southern desegregation are not primarily technical or educational. They are political and emotional.

Despite all of the emotional hostility surrounding the busing issue, for example, more Southern students attend the schools closest to their homes now than in 1964. The southeastern regional office of the Office for Civil Rights, HEW, recently surveyed busing mileage in districts achieving at least 12 percent student desegregation as of the 1968-69 school year in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida and Tennessee. The survey showed that these districts in four of the five states showed some reduction in busing mileage as desegregation progressed. The changes were generally slight. However, in Tennessee, where the greatest amount of desegregation had occurred, total mileage in the 37 districts covered by the survey decreased by 2 million miles from 1964-65 to 1968-69.

In his recent statement the President said that "the momentum of school desegregation has become dramatic." He claimed that 40 percent of black children in the eleven Southern states are now in desegregated situations. There are no data available to support this optimistic figure, but there can be no doubt that the number did increase significantly during the 1969-70 school year. Last year 18.4 percent of Negro school children were attending desegregated schools in these states. In the most resistant states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, however, the rate was only 10.5 percent.

In 1965 only two percent of black school children in the eleven states were in desegregated situations. HEW counts as desegregated those Negro students attending schools which are one-half or more white.

The changes during the current school year occurred because of the momentum built up by the federal enforcement program under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act since 1964. They occurred despite, rather than because of, the actions of the Nixon Administration.

The enforcement of Title VI has now virtually ceased. Federal funds have not been terminated to any Southern school district since August of 1969. It is unlikely that this enforcement procedure will ever be used again. The political risks are seen as too high.

Although there has been significant progress in Southern school desegregation since 1965, Senators Talmadge and Ribicoff's claim that *de jure* segregation has been eliminated in the South is far from true.

Those who contend that the South has now caught up with the North should note the figures contained in the "National Survey of Ethnic Data in Schools," compiled by the Office for Civil Rights from 1968-69 school data. These figures show that 77 percent of Negroes in eleven Southern states attended schools that were from 95 to 100 percent black during 1968-69. Just 44.3 percent of black students in 32 Northern and

Western states were in schools that were 95 percent or more black that year.

The 33 percent difference between these regional figures would seem to reflect the programs that can yet be achieved in the South through the continued elimination of *de jure* patterns of segregation.

Even in the urban areas, North and South, there are substantial differences. The national ethnic survey data from the 100 largest school districts show 82.1 percent of blacks in the large Southern districts were in schools 95 percent or more black, as compared to 58.5 percent in the Northern and Western states.

Where school desegregation has been achieved in the South, it works. Recent Southern experience seems to support the conclusion of the Coleman Report and the subsequent studies of the US Commission on Civil Rights concerning the affirmative values of desegregation. In the spring of 1969, staff of the Atlanta office of the Office for Civil Rights, HEW, conducted an attitude survey in thirteen Southeastern districts which had experienced substantial desegregation over a two-year period or longer. A survey staff approximately half white and half black interviewed 1230 administrators, teachers, parents, and high school students concerning their feelings about desegregation. The responses were generally affirmative.

Almost every person interviewed stated that the process had gone better than expected.

Seven out of ten of the black high school students interviewed felt that they were then receiving a better educational opportunity than in the segregated schools. Three out of ten saw their educational experience as "neither better nor worse." Almost no black students reported a less favorable educational opportunity.

More than nine out of ten of the white students interviewed saw no difference in their own learning progress since desegregation.

Most of the white and black teachers interviewed agreed that the whites are learning as much and the blacks more since desegregation took place in their districts. Twenty of the 205 white teachers interviewed, however, felt that there had been some loss of standards since desegregation.

In these thirteen districts in the states of Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, both black and white students expressed satisfaction with teacher desegregation. The great majority of students felt that the race of the teacher made no difference in the quality of teaching and that the teachers were generally teaching without racial favor.

In New Albany, Mississippi, desegregation was completed smoothly and on schedule in September 1969. With the contracted assistance of Educational Services Institute, Inc., the district developed a system of ungraded instruction and team teaching. Comparative grade level achievement data during the 1968-69 school year showed improved academic achievement by both white and black students in the desegregated classes.

Approximately one-third of the district's students are black. Lee County, Mississippi, is using a formerly black school as an ungraded middle school. Students are taught in large rooms by three-teacher integrated teams. Students learn in shifting groups throughout the day, depending on subject matter and the needs of the individual student. Much of the time is spent in individual work with each student calling on help from the teacher team as needed. The student population of the district is 30 percent black. Both white and Negro students at the middle school are achieving better than did the white students under the former, more traditional, class organization in the segregated schools.

In Carroll County, Georgia, and in Greenville, South Carolina, students at the segregated high schools were consulted about a constructive transition to consolidated, desegregated high schools. Biracial student committees helped plan the process and student offices were merged. In Carroll County white and black cheerleader squads were combined, as were student councils and class officers. Black students coming over to the previously white high schools were able to maintain the status they had earned at the black schools.

There was much publicity about the only serious incident during the current school year, the tragic violence at Lamar, South Carolina. It should also be noted that student desegregation was quietly completed or moved ahead in other South Carolina districts such as Greenwood No. 51, Lexington districts 2 and 5, Spartanburg districts 1, 2, 4 and 5, New York 4, Cherokee, Oconee, Anderson No. 2, and Aiken, home of Senator Thurmond. These districts proceeded under voluntary desegregation plans, without federal court orders. Other South Carolina districts proceeded in compliance with court orders. In South Carolina Negro students in desegregated classes increased from 14.2 percent to 26.3 percent in a year.

Of course, everything is not sweetness and light in desegregated Southern schools. All too often it is the black schools which are closed, the black students who have to travel extra distance, the black teachers and administrators who are dismissed or demoted as desegregation proceeds.

If Negro students and parents are generally pleased with the educational opportunities at desegregated schools, OCR's 1969 attitude survey showed many problems at the informal, extra-curricular level. Some degree of racial tension or hostility was found in almost every high school which had desegregated. In most desegregated high schools there have been incidents which are seen as racial. White and black students tend to segregate themselves in the cafeterias and on the school grounds.

The Southern experience, however, seems to bear out the conclusion of the Coleman report that desegregation works best when begun in the lower grades. Teachers and parents report little or no evidence of strange-

ness or hostility between white and black students at the elementary level. Many biracial friendships occur at this level. These students will go through the system together. It seems unlikely that they will develop the animosity often shown by older brothers and sisters.

There has as yet been very little desegregation of the several hundred majority black school districts of the deep South. The major threat of "segregation academies," quickie private schools for whites, fleeing from the public schools, is in these areas. Then, too, there is little research yet into the educational results of desegregation where the large majority of students is black. The districts covered in OCR's attitude survey ranged from seven to 43 percent black in student population. The majority black districts are the last remaining frontier in Southern school desegregation.

For some 200 years whites of the deep South have been resisting national pressures to change the nature of that region's "peculiar institution," first of slavery, then of segregation. Often this national pressure has been weak. Sometimes, as during the days of Reconstruction and the 1950s and 1960s, it has been strong.

Historically the strategy of the deep South segregationists is to bend with pressure, to accept minimal change, to maneuver skillfully, to buy time, to wait until the pressure lets up. The Southern segregationists are willing to lose battle after battle until they ultimately win the war. The tactics may change, from Jim Crow to massive resistance, to tokenism and freedom of choice, to neighborhood schools, anti-busing, and uniform application of the law, but the end remains the same.

The segregationists could win again. The national pressure is easing. We have lost much of our forward momentum. The desegregation process could come to a halt, even suffer retrogression.

This might happen. I don't believe that it is the most likely possibility. Too many things have changed in the South since 1954. Most districts which have desegregated their schools will not try to turn back the clock. The federal courts will continue to compel some forward movement, although at a slower rate if there is to be no support from the Executive Branch.

In his recent statement President Nixon said that "Deliberate racial segregation of pupils by official action is unlawful, wherever it exists. In the words of the Supreme Court, it must be eliminated 'root and branch'—and it must be eliminated at once." These words have direct relevance to the South. We can only hope that the words will be supported by some form of Executive action, although none was mentioned in the President's statement.

The racial problems of the nation are not limited to the South, but our national problems cannot be resolved without an end to the stubborn remnants of Jim Crow still existing in the South.

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Hi, Mom!

(Sigma III)

riverrun

(Columbia)

The Joke

(Grove)

Brian De Palma and Charles Hirsch, who made *Greetings!*, are twentieth-century versions of what the last century called Bad Boys: mischievous, likeable scamps. While I watched their latest film, *Hi, Mom!*, I felt like their uncle, shaking my head and chuckling, "Young devils." Imagine—pranks with condoms! (Well, high time. Grabbe did it in a play in 1822.) *Greetings!* had its fuzzy moments and *Hi, Mom!* has even more, but both these clever, generally sharp films would have been impossible to anyone but Bad Boys.

Greetings! was about three young New Yorkers and how two of them tried to avoid the draft. *Hi, Mom!* concentrates on one of the three, Robert De Niro, who was the "peep art" specialist in the earlier picture and was last seen being interviewed in Vietnam. Now he is back, tries to pursue his peeping career with a new kind of porno film, unachieves, gets an acting job in a "total theater" production about blacks, gets trapped into marriage, and gets drastically untrapped.

The story is credited to both partners, the screenplay to De Palma, but I assume that the same method was followed as in *Greetings!* There (De Palma said) situations were given to the actors, lines were improvised while a tape recorder rolled, the result was refined, and then shot. The plus side of the method (which isn't new) is that you get a nice figurative sense of the people who are making the film bursting into the film with high spirits. The negative side is some meandering and some moments that seem funnier to

them than to us.

Another trouble is that the subjects aren't, alas, as fruitful for satire as Vietnam. Also there is an apartment house bombing at the end, which, in the light of recent events, left me without an overview to laugh from. There is some confused shooting and editing in the black-theater episode (presented as part of a TV show called *N.I.T. Journal*—National Intellectual Television). But the weakest element is that the weight of the picture rests on De Niro who was very good as part of a troika in the first picture but lacks the range and appeal to sustain a film more or less by himself. The most professional appearance is by the very funny Allen Garfield who was the porno salesman in *Greetings!* and here is a porno film producer with quality standards.

Sags and all, *Hi, Mom!* is infectious with intelligent and perceptive high spirits. (I won't explain the title; the picture does that.) And there are moments of fine filming, like the opening shot. We see the doorway of an East Side tenement and, at the end of the dark hall, the backyard. The camera moves down the hall into the rubbishy yard and surprises the surly janitor at work there, who thereupon scolds the camera for sneaking up on him.

On the other hand, another young American film-maker, John Korty, is a Good Boy. He knows his catechism, and washes behind his ears, and puts us all to sleep. His first two features, *Crazy Quilt* and *Funnyman*, made some attempts at humor, but the first was a home movie grossly enlarged and the second was occasionally funny only because it had a good revue performer in it, Peter Bonerz. *Funnyman* ended up as a search for values; Korty's third film, *riverrun*, finds them, unfortunately.

A boy and girl, drop-outs from Berkeley, become sheep farmers in (beautiful) Marin County north of San Francisco. Her seafaring father comes to stay with them and provides banal complications about the generation gap and Oedipal conflict. It ends with some ludicrously coincidental drama on the night that the girl gives birth.

Korty has had vocal supporters among those who presumably feel that native talent should be encouraged. Well, all talent should be encouraged, but I can find little of it in Korty. For me, he epitomizes many young US film-makers; he

understands something about film technique and thinks that this knowledge makes him a director. He wrote his own screenplay, with assistance from Bill Brammer, and both should be prevented by law from ever doing it again; they are not only deaf to the world around them, they do not recognize dialogue formulas so ancient that they are not even clichés any more. Korty's grasp of acting cannot be criticized because it does not exist.

Worst of all, his films show no glimmer of serious directorial intent. A film about finding reality by getting back to the soil is a cop-out, unless there is a great deal more passion or saintliness in it than Korty comes anywhere near. *riverrun* merely satisfies some vague general itch to make a film, using a theme that is now popular among the people that Korty wants to please, just as commercial hacks use themes that are popular among the people that they want to please.

He photographed *riverrun* himself, and there he does show ability. The colors are delicate. Korty would be of use to a gifted director as a cinematographer.

History has supplied a nasty final twist for *The Joke*. This Czech film has its own bitter finish, but it is now topped by events in the world around it. In the mid-1960s Czechoslovakia was looking back with bitter relief at the Stalinist days of the early fifties. The hero of this film is a science researcher who suffered in his student days because of a joking postcard he wrote, mocking official optimism and praising Trotsky. A student committee got him expelled from the university and into a punishment brigade. Now he seeks revenge by seducing the wife of the chairman of that student committee. After the seduction, the joke is still on the hero because he finds that the couple are estranged and he hasn't hurt the husband at all.

End of film. But what has happened in Czechoslovakia since it was finished takes the point past irony into the mainstream of historical pessimism.

Jaromil Jires, the director and co-author, was not making a satire on bureaucracy. That sort of satire is a staple of current East European literature, permitted because it is unspecific: it could apply to Madrid or Canberra or Washington. Jires' film is deeper: it is about the difference between a social-

(Continued on page 31)

Alex Campbell: The Genius and the Flea

Letters of Aldous Huxley

Edited by Grover Smith
(Harper & Row; \$15.00)

No Nudes Is Good Nudes by P. G. Wodehouse

(Simon & Schuster; \$4.95)

What an odd couple! Why this strange jointure? But Aldous Huxley and Pelham Grenville Wodehouse had quite a bit in common. Both for instance were famous English fiction writers who became successful expatriates and made money in Hollywood; both wrote musical comedies. Wodehouse worked with the Gershwins, Guy Bolton, Gertrude Lawrence and Tallulah Bankhead. Above all, both men were astonishingly hard workers. Grover Smith has dug up and edited almost a thousand printed pages of Huxley's correspondence; but this is just a fraction of the letters he wrote in addition to articles, novels, essays, plays, short stories, poems and two big books on philosophy. And he died at 69. Wodehouse, pushing 90, has published over 70 books not counting numerous anthologies of his work. In short, the two Englishmen were tough and thoroughly professional men of letters, perhaps among the last of the breed.

Several years before he died of cancer in 1963, Huxley was writing pieces for *Esquire* and also working on a musical comedy version of his great 1932 success, *Brave New World*, possibly the most devastating satire since *Gulliver*.

Its producer, with a lack of humor Huxley must have greatly savored, explained in an interview that *Brave New World* had not been written originally as a musical comedy. "We don't want to prostitute Huxley [but] at the same time we have to make musical comedies in America." He thought if they spent five times as much on lighting as the usual Broadway show, it might be okay. Huxley evidently entered into the spirit of the thing, he wrote some lyrics.

Epsilons (singing):

No more Mammy, no more Pappy:
Ain't we lucky, ain't we happy?
Everybody's oh so happy,
Everybody's happy now!

Epsilons in case you've forgotten were mentally retarded identical twins, uniform, standardized and decanted from bottles to operate identical machines and so achieve the World State's ideal of Community, Identity, Stability in the Year of Our Ford 632.

In Hollywood, Huxley worked on animated cartoons for Disney, wrote a Madame Curie script for Garbo and shuddered from the prospect of working on a movie version of *The Forsyte Saga* ("even the lure of enormous lucre could not reconcile me to remaining closeted for months with the ghost of the late poor John Galsworthy"). He corresponded briskly with everyone who mattered—Lawrence, Auden, Isherwood, Eliot, Priestly, his brother Julian—about everything under the sun—politics, religion, birth control, books, plays. To Norman Douglas, about a sex encyclopedia he'd been asked to review: "... people like automata going through their absurd actions under psychological compulsion—chewing guardsmen's dirty socks, masturbating over boots, etc. Comic, but also, I find rather depressing. One feels that Homo Sapiens might think of something rather better." To Mencken, he complains about having sent the editor of *The New Republic* an "outburst in blank verse, he having invited me to contribute a tuneful number, and which he returned as being too obscene for his pages" [in 1923].

Huxley was enormously erudite but H. G. Wells was not alone in thinking that he read a hell of a lot too much, especially as he was almost as blind as Thurber. He also wrote much about sex, but unlike Wells his experience of it seems to have been limited, judging by the fact that one early tumble (described in a letter to Dorothy Carrington in 1917) turns up thinly disguised in *Crome Yellow* (1921) and again, 34 years later, in *The Genius and the Goddess*. Huxley called Wells

"a rather horrid, vulgar little man," which didn't stop him sending Wells a rather adulatory letter two months after. Wells revenged himself by writing of "that poor collapse Aldous Huxley who went around the world with the *Encyclopedia Britannica* until his mind gave way." Wells, the other major prophet of a World State, apparently meant by this that Huxley had turned from "those barren leaves of science and of art," to mysticism and mescaline. Finally, Huxley's mind like Wells's reached the end of its tether through seeing "all this concentrated knowledge, genius, hard work and devotion, not to mention all those incalculable billions of dollars, poured forth in the service of vast collective paranoias—and meanwhile our three billions of mainly hungry people are to become six billions in less than forty years and, like parasites, are threatening to destroy their planetary host and, with their host, themselves." So much for a *Brave New World*: instead of well-fed morons, starving ones. But for most of his 69 years, Huxley's spirit stayed sunny and witty. His letters splendidly reflect this.

Huxley could be unkind, not just to Wells but even about his best friend D. H. Lawrence whom he once judged to be more than half a nut. Wodehouse was incapable of being impolite, even to the Germans who interned him when he was nearing 60—a comic novel called *Money in the Bank* was written in the internment camp. "Be civil to snakes and snakes will be civil to you" had long been the Wodehouse policy, but it got him in hot water when he succumbed to a CBS offer to broadcast humorous talks from Germany—the second world war was still in its phony phase and America hadn't yet come in. The English were furious, and Wodehouse was denounced as a traitor, but George Orwell and Malcolm Muggeridge rushed to his defense. His broadcasts from Berlin were innocuous but he knew he had been a fool to make them, and frankly said so.

Wodehouse discovered America before Huxley, in fact, before the first world war; to P.G. it was the land of golden opportunity, where the *Saturday Evening Post* would pay as much as \$50,000 for a story about Jeeves and Bertie Wooster. He had been impecunious in London. When he wrote letters he put them in addressed but unstamped envelopes and chucked them out the window, trusting to some

The Education of Kate Haracz

An explosive view of America's \$25 billion investment in higher education

"M. didn't even bother showing until the third week of classes and then when he did, I wished he hadn't bothered. He's one of the New Profs, the ones who come on casual and try to play it cool, knock the System, and in other ways try to con us into thinking that they're one of us, the great unwashed disaffected student body.

From "The Diary of Kate Haracz"
Change Magazine

Kate Haracz is a 21-year-old Michigan State junior, whose mind bending 11,000-word diary is likely to upset just about every notion you've ever had about college. It appears in the current issue of **Change Magazine**, America's exciting new bimonthly magazine on higher education and society.

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passerby to pick them up and kindly post them. After the *SatEvePost* came the Broadway musical comedy stage, and after Broadway, Hollywood which in several novels and short stories he characteristically turned into a surrealist wonderland, peopled by powerful producers who had on their staffs not just yes men but also assistant noddies, and where alarm bells rang and lights flashed when a writer tried to make a bolt for it—"Alert the guards! One of our authors has escaped from his cubicle!"

When the second world war ended and passions cooled, England forgave him and Oxford University conferred the degree of doctor of letters upon him. Hilaire Belloc called him the best living English writer, which incensed Hugh Walpole. Meeting Wodehouse by chance, Walpole said huffily that he

couldn't understand it, but "of course Belloc has got very old." Wodehouse to appease Walpole pointed out that Sean O'Casey had perhaps more accurately described him as "English literature's performing flea."

In the latest and one of the ripest of Wodehouse novels about Blandings Castle, in Shropshire, England, the reclining nude of the title is thought by the much married American millionaire Wilfred Trout to resemble one of his ex-wives, but Clarence, ninth Earl of Emsworth, differs; to him, the nude is the spitting image of his medal-winning prize pig, the Empress of Blandings. The portrait of the nude belongs to Alaric, the pop-eyed Duke of Dunstable, and practically everyone wants to pinch it. English literature's performing flea though now emulating Tithonus seems as nimble as ever.

Paul Marx: Radical with Dignity

Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future
by Emily Taft Douglas

(Holt, Rinehart and Winston; \$7.50)

In Mrs. Douglas' biography of Margaret Sanger we have a timely reminder that with wise and resourceful leadership it is possible for the path of progress to be cleared—without dynamite.

Although only recently, with the sentencing of Bill Baird in Massachusetts, one could still come upon the headline "Birth Control Crusader Jailed," Margaret Sanger's battle nevertheless has been won. The hectic Congressional hearing on the Pill dealt with safety, not morality. Yet it did take most of half a century of determined struggle for the idea of contraception to gain the acceptance it now has. In 1912, the year that marks the beginning of Mrs. Sanger's effort, contraception was about as big a bogey as there has ever been in this country, another contrary humanistic scheme that neither the religious nor the scientific community would sanction. For years the cause seemed futile.

Mrs. Sanger's commitment to the idea of birth control grew out of her observations of human misery. Ameliorating the plight of poverty-stricken large families clearly meant limiting the size of families; yet no previous reformer in America had taken more than a few tentative steps towards making the reality of that simple arithmetic possible. Although there had been birth control movements in Europe for some years, Mrs. Sanger at first knew nothing about them. What she did know was that her mother had died in her forties, worn out by the bearing and raising of eleven children. As an obstetrical nurse attending deliveries in lower East Side tenements, she learned that there was a vast inarticulate hunger for information about how conception could be avoided. Tenement women were convinced that the medical profession and the rich had a secret by which families could be held to two or three children. The only methods

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that they were aware of were drinking such things as turpentine, rolling down a flight of stairs, or poking with knitting needles or button hooks; and these methods took a high toll of mothers.

In this country in 1912, even within the medical profession, there was an unbelievable paucity of information regarding conception and reproduction in general. Doctors did not seem to care. They would mechanically repeat their maxim that nothing would work with the poor anyway; didn't they enjoy breeding like rabbits? A doctor facing a pleading tenement wife would give the smug answer, "Tell Jake to sleep on the roof." Mrs. Sanger had to go to Europe to tap whatever body of knowledge there was about contraception. In France, where the birth rate had been declining for three generations, she learned of various soft articles worn by women internally, of permissive abortion policies, and of male involvement in spreading the idea of Conscious Generation. When she returned to America, she was bent on sharing what she had learned through a newsletter to be called *The Woman Rebel*. The first issue appeared in March 1914; not long afterwards she was under a nine-count indictment by a federal grand jury. Two years before, her use of the words "gonorrhea" and "syphilis" in her health column in the *Socialist Call* led the Post Office to excise the column; now she faced a 45-year sentence. Comstock rampant.

Anthony Comstock the Fundamentalist practiced the strange idolatry of

the Victorians. In 1873 he persuaded Congress to do its duty by prohibiting from the mails any acknowledgement of sex. His evil genius led him to insist that there be written into the bill an explicit prohibition against all references to the prevention of conception. It was logical of course that this zealous crusader be made the Post Office's special agent for suppressing sex. Before he was done, Mrs. Douglas tells us, he sent 3760 persons to jail.

Faced with a trial during a period in which the outbreak of war in Europe commanded the attention of the public, Mrs. Sanger chose to exile herself temporarily. With the irrationality and injustice of Comstock's law so obvious, she was determined that her trial should be a means of mobilizing public opinion. Returning from England after a year, she rejected everyone's counsel that she plead guilty in the hope of a suspended sentence. Then, fed up with her lawyers' inability to grasp that the cause was what was of utmost importance, not her personal fate, she announced that she would defend herself. With Comstock recently dead, a prudent Justice Department on the morning of the trial dropped the charges.

She had won the use of the mails. The next step was to open clinics such as she had seen in Holland. To do so was to challenge state laws forbidding dissemination of birth control information that had been enacted under Comstock's influence. A clinic was opened in Brownsville, and for a week

Cambodia

April 30, 1970

Once more the weary sense of déjà vu,
Cambodia this time. The name changes
But drops into the worn linguistic slot,
Escorted by White House announces—advisers—
Report to nation at 9:00. Déjà entendu.

LBj, RMN, what's in a name?
Similar goods, same firm of advertisers
With the sleek slogans. And Spiro, tuned
To a true high F, singing out: students, go fuck.
The more it changes, the more the same

Damned thing. God who in ages past
Snatched fools and drunks from the careening truck,
And had a weakness for Americans,
Announced at twelve noon (Eastern time) that He has struck,
And did not state how long the strike will last.

CHAD WALSH

the lines extended into the street; then the police arrived. With the Protestant clergy slowly coming to the support of the movement, the main source of hostility now was the Catholic Church. In court Mrs. Sanger again was given the opportunity to avoid punishment by compromising her position. "I cannot promise to obey a law I do not respect," she said, and did 30 days.

Blatant Catholic hostility and high-handedness following the World War backfired and gave the movement new impetus. Archbishop Hayes' order to the New York police to block a Town Hall meeting prompted many new eminent supporters to rally behind Mrs. Sanger. When a new clinic, the Clinical Research Bureau, was established, it was allowed to function for five years without obstruction. During this stretch, Mrs. Sanger for the first time was able to involve physicians; Dr. Hannah Stone ran the clinic, while Dr. James F. Cooper lectured to medical men across the country and succeeded in persuading them to discuss contraception with their patients. But in 1929, again on signal from the hierarchy, the police closed down the clinic.

Now the time was ripe for a new tactic. New York statutes forbade the dissemination of birth control information, but at the same time a physician was allowed to prescribe for the cure and prevention of disease. The

intent of the latter clause was to permit doctors to inform men about condoms so that prostitutes might be visited without the risk of contracting venereal disease. A too-modest legislature did not include that adjective in its phrasing, and so it could be argued that the law meant that doctors may prescribe for the prevention of any disease, including those that might follow conception. Thus, if condoms prevented disease so did diaphragms.

In 1936, a similar argument was used to breach the Comstock mail prohibitions. Shortly afterward the AMA endorsed birth control. The symbol that Mrs. Sanger had become had a great deal to do with the ultimate decisions in her favor. Her dignity and courage, her personal sacrifices, the decent respect she showed for other opinions by not tying her avant garde beliefs on love and marriage to the birth control issue won widespread admiration. Her voice now was that of reason, not that of the renegade.

Mrs. Douglas has written of a "pioneer of the future" in an old-fashioned, genteel way. Her insistent chronology, and her inventiveness in producing atmosphere and deducing feelings will cause much impatience. She is also disappointingly insusceptible to the fascination of social change. But for a reader with that fascination already built in, Margaret Sanger, the exemplar, will be quickly recognized.

The Class

The small black blobs on the beach are the heads of children. Defectives:

the imbeciles could not come, and the morons have graduated to lives.

The five sit under the sun at the tide's edge.

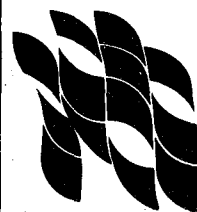
Everything moves: like silence a sailboat goes on the sea's brilliant shiver, the glittery palms make a sound of raining, clouds change shapes, waves curl over.

The five stay still as five stopped in one pose.

They are out for an outing in the free great air, they face the Caribbean; the air will not bear them up, nor the sea, nor the sand grow an herb to heal, nor the white thick clouds transport them elsewhere.

Their lesson is not the one the voice gives. They listen, listen in a secret school, their faces lifted. Conscienceless, on their skin the tongue of the tide says, cool . . . and in a glazed brightness the sun says, live . . .

JOSEPHINE JACOBSEN



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Gary Gappert: What the Radio Did

Change at Shebika: Report From a North African Village by Jean Duvignaud

(Pantheon; \$6.95)

What are known to sociologists as enclave societies appear in essentially two cultural situations, both productive of poverty. First there is the ghetto, surrounded by the larger economy but cut off from the free flow of its goods, services and labor by a variety of social forces. The second is the "backwash society," where distance, however defined, is the restricting barrier.

Shebika, a village on the edge of the desert in southern Tunisia, is an enclave of the latter type. It was studied over a period of years by the French sociologist Jean Duvignaud and a number of Tunisian students. The result, *Change at Shebika*, is not a conventional academic treatise but an anthropological nonfiction novel. Duvignaud has "discovered that invention based on life can have its point of departure in the real experience of men situated in quite specific circumstances and acquire the value of symbol or myth . . . If Balzac and Dickens were alive today they would be sociologists." Maybe so. Anyway his novel is a good one.

The results of the study were unusual in yet another way. Five years after the sociologists arrived there came an extraordinary moment when the Shebikans "spontaneously" (it is Duvignaud's word) refused to continue to quarry stone for the central government unless it was used to repair their houses. At that moment the "final impotence of paternalism" was revealed and enterprising research scholars were revealed as covert Alinskys.

Aside from these novelties *Change at*

Shebika gives us the reality of what is commonly called a traditional society caught in the backwash of modernization. In Shebika tradition is dead. Colonial pacification abolished the traditional jaiysh or intervillage guerrilla warfare. The modern technological economy established in the north eliminated the camel caravans linking Shebika and the other villages to a greater world beyond. Finally, as one Shebikan with real anger put it, "The radio . . . killed everything," especially the language of traditional culture.

Hence "tradition" is now only a word by which "administrators constantly justify the slowness of progress or the impossibility of its achievement." Shebika has become a transitional culture, a product of "pauperism and frustrated expectation."

What finally happened in this village was that the radio, the newspapers, and the government created a new sense of tomorrow, particularly in students at a new school in the town. Tomorrow took on "a mythical value, on a world-wide scale; no longer did it have the typically Mediterranean meaning of indefinite postponement," but instead the meaning of a "future waiting to be born." Then Shebikans, encouraged by the sociologists, began to talk about themselves, and that led to the advent of a new collective consciousness.

The entire Third World, including part of the US, is in something of the same boat, and finding the way to the next stage, in Shebika and elsewhere, is the crux of the puzzle faced by those who would give developmental assistance.

Meanwhile the urgent need for a solution remains. As one of the students indicated: "Only poverty counts at Shebika. When people haven't enough to eat, they lose their originality. They're perpetually anxious; and they've made me anxious too."

relation between wage increases, productivity gains, and cost of living increases while the guidelines were seriously supported by the government. Their abandonment came about, of course, not because they weren't useful, but because in the absence of a serious anti-inflationary program to hold down the cost of living, unions could not live with the restrictions on wage increases.

Instead of abandoning the nation's wage-price policy, the Nixon Administration should have made it a part of an overall program to restrain the rise in living costs. In condemning the guidelines Mr. Dale overlooks their main contribution to price stability, that of focusing attention on, and the encouragement of, increased productivity.

It is axiomatic that the only non-inflationary wage increase is one based on increased productivity. The guidelines recognize this relationship and put pressure on industry and unions to increase productivity, so that wage increases granted will be in line with national economic policy.

It is of considerable significance in evaluating the guidelines to note that when the Johnson Administration gave up on them, for reasons having nothing to do with their merits, productivity increases slowed down, wages increases in excess of productivity gains became commonplace, and the rise in the cost of living accelerated.

After the Nixon Administration administered the *coup de grace* to the guidelines, wage increases greatly in excess of productivity gains became typical and the cost of living soared upward. That productivity gains slowed after Johnson gave up on the guidelines, and stopped completely after Nixon became President and threw them overboard, has important implications for our future efforts to control inflation.

Our most important weapon for controlling inflation is our ability to increase production with increased productivity. Price rises are restrained when supply increases. Nixon's Economic Advisers call their anti-inflation program—the "new economics." It is surely something new when they point to declining production and no productivity gains to prove that their program is working. If prices go down when goods become scarce it must mean that one of the most basic of all

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

PAUL MARX is Associate Professor of English at New Haven College. GARY GAPPERT, an economist with the Syracuse University Village Settlement program in Tanzania, is beginning a study of transitional economies affected by urbanization in Africa. CHAD WALSH teaches at Beloit College. His most recent book is *Then End of Nature*. Baltimore poet, JOSEPHINE JACOBSON's latest book is *The Animal Inside*.

Correspondence

Controlling Inflation

Sirs:

Before Edwin L. Dale, Jr. dismisses with finality the role that a national wage-price policy can play (*Jawboning's a Joke*, April 18, 1970) in helping to control inflation, he should study the cor-

economic principles has been circumvented.

But the Nixon Administration has apparently succeeded in convincing the public that it is following the only feasible course to combat inflation. What nonsense! There are so many fairer and more effective options open to them. Even in a war period like this inflation can be controlled without putting the burden on the old, the poor, and the unemployed. Main reliance should have been put on increased taxes, increased productivity and curtailed government spending. Monetary policy has a role but only to the extent that the annual increase in the money supply is kept within a 4-5 percent range.

John C. Davis

President's Council

of Economic Advisers, 1947-52

Sirs:

In a recent article Mr. Edwin L. Dale, Jr. said of the problem of inflation: "The issue is not wage and price controls, which are not backed by anyone with experience of the problem. . . ." It is possible that of all men now living I have the greatest experience with wage and price controls. I strongly back a tailored system of wage and price controls as the only feasible alternative to inflation. One of my closest associates in the management of price control in World War II was Congressman Henry Reuss. He is the leading Congressional advocate. In my last conversation with him, David Ginsburg who was general counsel in the Office of Price Administration in World War II gave the proposal qualified approval. Better than any others we know the difficulties. We have also faced the sad fact that there is no alternative.

John Kenneth Galbraith
Cambridge, Mass.

Keeping Cool

Sirs:

Frequently these days the charge is made that, while we hear each other, we are not often enough listening to one another. It occurs to me that Ridgeway M. Hall, Jr.'s article, "Keeping It Cool on the Campus," lends substance to this charge.

Mr. Hall lauds preliminary reports emanating from the American Bar As-

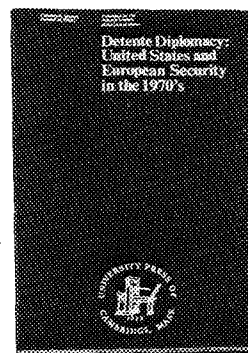
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Detente Diplomacy: United States and European Security in the 1970's

By Timothy W. Stanley and
Darnell M. Whitt

With a Foreword by Livingston T. Merchant

Published for The Atlantic Council of the United States

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sociation's Commission on Campus Government and Student Dissent, suggesting that the Commission's recommendations are more constructive than any legislative remedy intended to put an end to the "unrest" that has plagued our campuses for the past several years. More to the point, he expresses unreserved disapproval of the legislative remedy offered by US Representatives Edith Green and 15 of her colleagues. As one of the authors of this proposal, HR 11941, I submit that in the final analysis there are but minor differences between the recommendations reported to be generating from the Commission and those proposed to Title I of HR 11941.

In brief, both the Commission and our bill recognize the independence of our colleges and universities; and both recognize the need to protect the autonomy—and indeed the very existence—of our colleges and universities from the threats posed by campus disruptions while at the same time protecting a student's right to speak his mind.

According to Mr. Hall, the Commission recommends a "... written code of conduct or similar clear notice to

students and faculty alike of what is expected of them. It calls for established and consistently applied grievance and disciplinary procedures . . ." This is precisely what our bill seeks.

My private search for root causes of the problem and a remedy aimed at prevention, rather than repression and punishment, led me to conclude that two factors present in campus life are the biggest contributors to protest, demonstration, and ultimate violence: First, the means for communication between and among trustees, administrators, faculty, and students are usually non-existent or very poor. Second, there is confusion today as to what are the limits of acceptable conduct and acceptable expression of dissent. This is the basis for HR 11941.

The one apparent difference between our philosophy and that of the Commission is that the Commission would "recommend," while we would "require." Our requirement, however, would not, as Mr. Hall states, make the availability of federal funds "... subject to the political whim of the Commissioner (of Education), who might or might not find that the 'cer-

tification' submitted by a particular institution is to his liking." We would require that an institution of higher education, in order to qualify for federal funds, file with the Commissioner a statement indicating that it has or is taking steps to provide (1) orderly discussion of educational and associated problems and (2) standards for conduct for its own academic community with appropriate disciplinary procedures. We would NOT have the Commissioner in any way judge the adequacy or inadequacy of any school's plan.

I hasten to add that Mr. Hall does not stand alone in his misinterpretation of our bill. Similar stories have been printed and aired again and again, and our attempts to clarify this misunderstanding go unheard.

To varying degrees, all Americans are concerned about keeping our campuses cool. Congress's concern stems from a variety of reasons, not the least of which is the fact that the federal government has become a major partner in the financing of higher education. Our colleges won't solve all their problems by sitting down with the students and faculty, but this seems a good start. Mr. Hall seems to believe that start has been made, in spite of the lack of legislation. Had our proposal been enacted there would have been a great deal more talking—and listening—over the past year.

John N. Erlenborn
Member of Congress

In reply:

Congressman Erlenborn's comment that the ABA Commission would "recommend," while his bill HR 11941 would "require," goes to the heart of why HR 11941 would have a crippling effect on campus administration. Few will dispute the desirability of protecting the rights of students and faculty to express themselves, while at the same time preserving order on the campus. The question is whether in pursuing this objective the universities are to be free to adopt whatever procedures and guidelines may be appropriate to their circumstances, or whether they are to have rules and regulations forced upon them by the federal government.

Mr. Erlenborn contends that HR 11941 respects the autonomy and independence of the university. Yet the certification which the university would have to file under the bill must include spe-

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cific rules, regulations, and penalties tailored to achieve specific objectives set forth in the bill. There is no provision for relaxing or changing the rules or penalties. Nor are there any standards by which the Commissioner of Education is to determine whether the contents of a given "certification," or "game plan" as I have called it, are adequate to meet the statutory requirement. Finally, the requiring of such a certification is an open door to the federal government to start inspecting each campus to determine whether the institutions are actually complying with its terms. All of this cannot help but infringe upon the independence of educational institutions, where such government involvement would be both unnecessary and unwelcome — a conclusion supported by the recent report of the American Council on Education's Committee on Campus Tensions.

Repeated experience has shown that a flexible and imaginative response is essential in dealing with potentially explosive campus situations. This applies not merely to the formulation of rules but to their application, and especially to disciplinary action. Frequently serious disruptions involve extenuating circumstances. It is difficult enough as it is for college and university administrators to mete out just discipline, without being locked into a predetermined "table of penalties," as Congressman Erlenborn would require. Congress should drop this attempt to play dean and campus cop at the same time, and leave these jobs with those on the scene whose knowledge of the circumstances qualify them far better to manage a university than the most gifted federal commissioners.

*Ridgway M. Hall, Jr.
Stamford, Conn.*

Population Growth

Sirs:

Nearly every one of Ben Wattenberg's rebuttals ("The Nonsense Explosion," April 4-11) to the argument that further population growth seriously threatens the quality of our life has its counterpart somewhere in administrative rhetoric:

1. *We can do anything we want to, if only we have the will.* The United States and its technology are omnipotent. Heard this one before? ("If we lose the war in Vietnam we will have

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But what did they accomplish?

President Nixon proclaimed Boat Week and Archery Week.

Politicians came out in favor of clean air, clean water and apple pie.

Corporations said, "We haven't found the answer to pollution yet. But we're working on it."

And the vast majority of Americans drove to work in their own fumes, ate their daily chemicals and pesticides, discarded millions of tons of junk and wondered why the earth was in such bad shape.

It seems like everybody wants somebody else to do something about pollution.

And it looks like that somebody else is us.

Environmental Action, a coalition of about 4,000 environmental and conservation groups throughout the country.

We planned Earth Day. We organized it.

And, despite the largest, cleanest and most peaceful demonstration in America's history, we can't afford to call Earth Day a success.

Because the problems are still with us. Pollution. Overpopulation. Overkill. Slums. Intolerance. Wasted resources. Planned obsolescence. A widening war.

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lost it in the minds and hearts of Americans, not on the battlefield.")

The specific fallacy where population is concerned is to assume that in doubling the magnitude of our problems by doubling the population we double the magnitude of our resources, and hence of our problem solving ability. Unfortunately one of the key resources, the ability of our institutions to respond to the demands of individuals, does not double with size; it may even decrease. The relevant variable here is not individual will, but institutional will.

2. Problems are largely rooted in insufficient research, inadequate technologies. (Greater expenditures on the military can purchase security for us.) What we need, therefore, is expensive programs to clean up the gunk after we produce it, to restore natural balances after we upset them, all of this to be

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financed by the taxpayer.

The *Moundbuilders Gazette* has called this the "red white and blueprint for ecological disaster." Real solutions, according to every ecologist I have heard, involve not releasing poisons in the first place, living our lives in ways which do not upset natural balances, and forcing polluters not to pay for clean up, but to pay for production which does not pollute in the first place. Is all of this just as easy with twice as many people, twice as much production?

3. In economic analysis we should content our self with vague generalities and refrain from specific examination of the actual historical route through which we will reach our goals, whether that goal be peace in Vietnam or a population of 300 million. "It is not harder for 300 million Americans to pay for quality schools for their children than for 230 million to buy quality schooling for their offspring."

This argument confuses the effects of aggregate population size and of population growth. It is always harder for a growing population to provide schools because there are relatively far more children and fewer adult taxpayers. It would be easier for a stable population of 300 million to finance schools than for a growing population of 230 million. But again, the choice we have is between smaller stable populations and larger growing ones. Mr. Wattenberg's arithmetic is simply false.

In a similar vein he argues that a larger population could better afford to end pollution, because it could spread the "constant" research costs over a larger number. Even he cannot insist that the operating costs will be similarly lowered, but with regard to research there seems no justification for the idea that the costs are fixed. Increasing population has, in the past, always required improving technology to cope with that population. Impose upon modern New York medieval sewage technology and the city would literally die of the resultant smell. Technology works on pollution by eliminating enough of the byproducts of production or consumption that nature can handle the rest. Double the total level of production, and you must take out an ever higher percentage of the waste, since you do not increase nature's "free" cleaning capacity. If to restore clean air we need to cut hydrocarbon emissions in a city by 60 percent, and

hold the volume of autos constant, then we must develop a technology which can clean up 60 percent of the emissions from each engine. Double the number of engines, and our 60 percent effective technology no longer does the job. We need an 80 percent effective method. Are the research costs for the two "constant"?

There are no 100 percent effective clean up technologies. Even if pollution occurs only in cases of accidents, doubling the volume doubles the number of accidents.

4. Argue that the market system will provide whatever people may want, but never, never look to today's markets to see what people do want, and the price they pay to get it. "If it is new towns near babbling brooks that Americans feel they want . . . some patriot will no doubt step forward and provide same, and even have salesmen in boiler rooms phoning you to sell same."

Comparative pricing of housing could show Mr. Wattenberg the very high premium already paid for babbling brooks, open spaces, parks and quiet by upper and middle class Americans, and the hopelessness of lower class Americans even hoping for such amenities. There are only so many babbling brooks and parks in the areas where people want to live and can find jobs. Is doubling the population the way to provide them at lower costs?

5. Don't think too much about the future. (Pursue nuclear superiority this year without consideration of its consequences for the next generation.) "Whether oil reserves are depleted in 2020 or 2040 or 2140 does not seem to be of critical importance."

To whom? Those who will be alive in those years between 2020 and 2140 when technology may not have found a cheap, clean, safe energy substitute? Or those who will inherit a radioactive planet after 2140 because the too rapid application of nuclear technology produced the inevitable miscalculations and accidents?

6. Finally, any residual problem can be dismissed with the claim that it isn't "necessarily" so. (Herbicides probably, but not necessarily, cause birth defects in Vietnam, so the administration goes ahead and uses them. Sonic booms may conceivably prove tolerable. Go ahead and build the SST. Military aid to Greece and Brazil may not necessarily be helpful to those regimes in suppressing their own people. Give the aid.)

And from Mr. Wattenberg. Population growth isn't "necessarily" bad for the country, even if the preponderance of evidence is that it has been bad in the past and is likely to be so in the future. The quality of suburban life "doesn't necessarily deteriorate if another suburb rises down the road a mile." Millions of suburbanites have found from bitter experience that the next suburb down the road from them causes air and water pollution, traffic jams, raises taxes, crowds the schools. They regularly testify to this fact by showing up at zoning hearings to oppose that new subdivision. But this is only actual, limited, historical experience. It is not "necessarily" going to hold in the future.

Carl Pope

Zero Population Growth

Kauffmann, from page 20

ism that is fearful and rigid and a socialism that is wanted and therefore is not afraid of mockery. That is Jires' political point. On the human scale, he is saying that revenge is impossible because time cannot be turned back and wrongs cannot really be undone. Revenge may make us feel better, but that's another story.

Josef Somr, who was the Don Juan in *Closely Watched Trains*, is exactly right as the saturnine hero. (One nice touch: when he gets up in the morning and dresses for his vengeful assignation, he doesn't shave!) Ludek Munzar has a clean sanctimonious air as his prosecutor and intended victim. And Vera Kresadlová, the girl in *Intimate Lighting*, is again charming in a brief appearance as Munzar's young mistress. Jires makes a particularly trenchant comment on the generation gap in a brief exchange between Somr and this girl. She is eating cotton candy at a street fair when Munzar introduces her to Somr. When she learns that Somr is having an affair with her own lover's wife, she warns him jokingly that the wife also has a young boy friend, very strong. Somr says that he is strong himself, that he used to work in the mines. She takes a bite of candy and asks whether he was in a punishment brigade; he says yes. "How long?" she asks. He says, "Six years." Without a pause she asks "Where?" and takes another calm bite of cotton candy.

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WHAT IS THE METHOD at the Green Valley School? George von Hilsheimer explains in a new book, *How to Live With Your Special Child: A Handbook for Behavior Change*.

The Green Valley program cannot be considered "progressive" in the standard sense. And certainly it is not a return to the "traditional". It is based largely on this: parents, teachers, therapists, etc. do a lot of talking about treating the "whole child" but they really don't do much about it. The author shows that it is *debilitating* diet, *malnutrition*, *overlooked allergies*, *hidden illnesses* and *poor sleep habits* that, in most cases, are the real causes of children's deep problems. The child is actually *sick* — and that is why he cannot keep up. But then society (Mom, Dad, the teacher) attacks the child for his sleep-

"The Rev. von Hilsheimer... is a very brave man who is willing to tackle the problems of those children whom other educators have given up on. His book reveals some of the reasons for his remarkable success with these children, and will be an eye-opener to many."

— Louise Bates Ames, PhD.
Associate Director, Gesell Institute

iness, irritability, poor grades, etc. Ultimately it is they who — unintentionally — drive the child into hardened anti-social behavior. Poor kids. Rich kids. Kids who are ignored at home — and those who nearly drown in over-attention. All are victims.

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you how to take a child who is not only delinquent, maybe a drug addict and probably secretly in physical distress — instill him with a feeling of healthful vitality and personal safety — and then provide him with the environment whereby he teaches himself the enormous desirability of becoming an upright citizen.

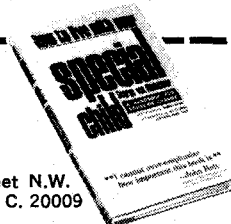
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THE REV. GEORGE VON HILSHEIMER is a Bretheren Minister who is General Superintendent of Humanitas, President of the Fund for Migrant Children, former Chairman for Regional, State and Local Programs of the Council for Children with Behavior Disorders. He was a consultant to President Kennedy's Committee for National Voluntary Services (VISTA), a former Director of Mobilization for Youth, a former consultant to President Kennedy's Committee on Migratory Labor, and the founder of SUMMERLANE, America's first Summer-hillian school.